



Postcolonising the Medieval Image

Edited by
Eva Frojmovic and Catherine E. Karkov

An **Ashgate** Book

ROUTLEDGE

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

Postcolonising the Medieval Image

Postcolonial theories have transformed literary, historical and cultural studies over the past three decades. Yet the study of medieval art and visualities has, in general, remained Eurocentric in its canon and conservative in its approaches. 'Postcolonising', as the eleven essays in this volume show, entails active intervention into the field of medieval art history and visual studies through a theoretical reframing of research. This approach poses and elicits new research questions, and tests how concepts current in postcolonial studies – such as diaspora and migration, under-represented artistic cultures, accented art making, displacement, intercultural versus transcultural, hybridity, presence/absence – can help medievalists to reinvigorate the study of art and visibility. Postcolonial concepts are deployed in order to redraft the canon of medieval art, thereby seeking to build bridges between medievalist and modernist communities of scholars. Among the varied topics explored in the volume are the appropriation of Roman iconography by early medieval Scandinavian metalworkers, multilingualism and materiality in Anglo-Saxon culture, the circulation and display of Islamic secular ceramics on Pisan churches, cultural negotiation by Jewish minorities in Central Europe and the Iberian peninsula, Holy Land maps and medieval imaginative geography, and the uses of Thomas Becket in the colonial imaginary of the Plantagenet court.

Eva Frojmovic is Lecturer in the School of Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies at University of Leeds. She specialises in medieval Jewish art and manuscript illumination. She is also Director of the Centre for Jewish Studies. She edited the collection *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish Culture in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

Catherine E. Karkov is Chair of Art History at the University of Leeds and has published widely on Insular and Anglo-Saxon art and archaeology. She is the author of *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), *The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), and *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England* (Boydell Press, 2011).



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Postcolonising the Medieval Image

Edited by

Eva Frojmovic and Catherine E. Karkov

Downloaded by [University of California, San Diego] at 22:46 27 March 2017

First published 2017
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2017 selection and editorial matter, Eva Frojmovic and Catherine E. Karkov;
individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Eva Frojmovic and Catherine E. Karkov to be identified as the
authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters,
has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright,
Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or
utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now
known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any
information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the
publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered
trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent
to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 978-1-4724-8166-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-23216-4 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<i>List of contributors</i>	xiv

Introduction	1
EVA FROJMOVIC AND CATHERINE E. KARKOV	

PART 1	
The language of the postcolonial	15
1 Decolonising gold bracteates: From Late Roman medallions to Scandinavian Migration Period pendants	17
NANCY L. WICKER	
2 The Franks Casket speaks back: The bones of the past, the becoming of England	37
CATHERINE E. KARKOV	
3 Camouflaging and echoing the Latin mass in an illuminated French-language missal	62
MARGARET E. HADLEY	

PART 2	
The location of the postcolonial	89
4 Mandeville's Jews, colonialism, certainty, and art history	91
ASA SIMON MITTMAN	
5 Conquest and coexistence in sixteenth-century Granada: Imposing orders in the Alhambra's Mexuar	120
LARA EGGLETON	

vi *Contents*

- 6 Beyond Foucault's laugh: On the ethical practice of medieval art history 144
ROLAND BETANCOURT

PART 3

The ambivalence of the postcolonial 167

- 7 Postcolonialising Thomas Becket: The saint as resistant site 169
ALYCE A. JORDAN

- 8 Defining a merchant identity and aesthetic in Pisa: Muslim ceramics
as commodities, mementos, and architectural decoration on
eleventh-century churches 196
KAREN ROSE MATHEWS

- 9 The Muslim warrior at the Seder meal: Dynamics between minorities
in the Rylands Haggadah 218
JANE BARLOW

- 10 Neighbouring and *mixta* in thirteenth-century Ashkenaz 241
EVA FROJMOVIC

Bibliography 261

Index 293

Figures

1 Wicker

- 1.1 Obverse, Medallion imitation, from Lilla Jored, Kville parish, Bohuslän, Sweden (IK 107); Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 421; diam. 3.9 cm (photograph no. 14710 by Ulf Bruxe, SHM 1993–06–18, reproduced under Creative Commons). 19
- 1.2 Reverse, Medallion imitation, from Tunalund, Hjärsta parish, Uppland, Sweden (IK 193); Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 420; diam. 3.8 cm (photograph no. 14436 by Ulf Bruxe SHM 1993–07–28, reproduced under Creative Commons). 19
- 1.3 Type A bracteate (IK 189), from Trollhättan, Västergötland, Sweden; Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 1164; diam. 2.3 cm (photograph no. 14602 by Ulf Bruxe SHM 1993–07–08, reproduced under Creative Commons). 21
- 1.4 Type B bracteate (IK 190), from Trollhättan, Västergötland, Sweden; Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 421; diam. 2.8 cm (photograph no. 14602 by Ulf Bruxe SHM 1993–07–08, reproduced under Creative Commons). 21
- 1.5 Type C bracteate (IK 220), from Böja parish, Västergötland, Sweden; Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 10237; diam. 2.8 cm (photograph no. 14275 by Ulf Bruxe SHM 1993–07–14, reproduced under Creative Commons). 22
- 1.6 Type D bracteate (IK 454), from Källemossan, Böja parish, Västergötland, Sweden; Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 27302; diam. 2.2 cm (photograph no. 14156 by Ulf Bruxe SHM 1993–07–16, reproduced under Creative Commons). 23
- 1.7 Type C bracteate (IK 365.5) with hind leg kicked up, from Slitebacka, Othem parish, Gotland, Sweden; Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 69, diam. 2.6 cm (photograph no. 13850 by Ulf Bruxe SHM 1993–08–19, reproduced under Creative Commons). 24
- 1.8 Medallion imitation with bird below bust of man (IK 193), from Tunalund, Uppland, Sweden; Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 420; diam. 3.8 cm (photograph no. 21999 by Ulf Bruxe SHM 1999–12–02, reproduced under Creative Commons). 31

2 Karkov

- | | | |
|-----|---|----|
| 2.1 | Franks Casket, front panel (British Museum, London, Inv. No. 1867,0120.1) (reproduced by permission of The British Museum). | 38 |
| 2.2 | Franks Casket, lid (reproduced by permission of The British Museum). | 38 |
| 2.3 | Franks Casket, right panel (reproduced by permission of The British Museum). | 39 |
| 2.4 | Franks Casket, back panel (reproduced by permission of The British Museum). | 39 |
| 2.5 | Franks Casket, left panel (reproduced by permission of The British Museum). | 40 |

3 Hadley

- | | | |
|-----|--|----|
| 3.1 | Triumphal Entry, First Sunday of Advent, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library MS 425, fol. 6r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University). | 63 |
| 3.2 | Jesus casts out a demon and a mute man speaks, Third Sunday of Lent, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 74r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University). | 67 |
| 3.3 | Luke holds a flask and scroll, Feast of Luke, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 310r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University). | 71 |
| 3.4 | Circumcision of John the Baptist, Nativity of John the Baptist, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 276r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University). | 72 |
| 3.5 | Magdalene anoints Jesus's head, Palm Sunday, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 113r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University). | 74 |
| 3.6 | Pentecost, Feast of Pentecost, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 183r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University). | 76 |
| 3.7 | Paul writes and Ephesians read, Common of Apostles, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 320v (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University). | 77 |
| 3.8 | Last Supper, Maundy Thursday, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 133v (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University). | 79 |
| 3.9 | Wedding at Cana, First Sunday after the octave of Epiphany, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 425, fol. 31r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University). | 81 |

4 Mittman

- 4.1 Mandeville Setting Out, Book of John Mandeville, London, British Library Harley 3954, fol. 1r, c. 1425–50 (photograph: The British Library Board, reproduced under Creative Commons). 96
- 4.2 Land of the Griffins, Book of John Mandeville, c. 1425–50. London, British Library Harley 3954, fol. 54v (photograph: The British Library Board, reproduced under Creative Commons). 97
- 4.3 Dyson Perrins Apocalypse, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum MS Ludwig III.i, fol. 24v, English, c. 1255–60 (photograph courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program). 98
- 4.4 Matthew Paris, Map of the Holy Land, *Chronica Majora*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 26, fol. iii verso–iv recto, c. 1250 (photograph: by permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge). 104
- 4.5 Mappamundi, Psalter, London, British Library, Add. MS 28681, fol. 9r, c. 1265 (photograph: The British Library Board, reproduced under Creative Commons). 105
- 4.6 Jews Locked in Caspian Mountains, Book of John Mandeville, London, British Library Harley 3954, fol. 53r, c. 1425–50 (photograph: The British Library Board, reproduced under Creative Commons). 108
- 4.7 Emblem of Hamas (photograph: <http://hamas.ps/en/page/2/>). 110

5 Eggleton

- 5.1 One of two twin murals dating from the reign of Charles V relocated to the eastern wall of the Mexuar Hall, with Doric column and Plus Ultra banderole (photograph: Lara Eggleton). 121
- 5.2 View of the north wall of the Mexuar Hall, with balustrade of the choir balcony still intact (photograph: Lara Eggleton). 124
- 5.3 José García Ayola, 'Capilla de Carlos Quinto' (chimneypiece incorporated into altar of the Mexuar Chapel, Nasrid palace complex, Alhambra), Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife (APAG), Colección de Fotografías, F-05417. 125
- 5.4 Contemporary photograph of the Mexuar after the excavation of the sixteenth-century floor, removal of the altar and relocation of the left Plus Ultra mural (photograph: Lara Eggleton). 126
- 5.5 View of the Palace of Charles V from the northwest, with stone portico, centre (photograph: Lara Eggleton). 132
- 5.6 Carved gypsum crowns originally above both heraldic murals (photograph: Lara Eggleton). 134
- 5.7 Pilar de Carlo V (commissioned by Tendilla and designed by Pedro Machuca), with Plus Ultra emblem located beneath the upper left fountain (photograph: Lara Eggleton). 135
- 5.8 Detail of decorative inner border, Plus Ultra mural, Mexuar (photograph: Lara Eggleton). 136

x *Figures*

- 5.9 Kufic script pattern, southern wall of Hall of Ambassadors, Comares Palace (photograph: Lara Eggleton). 137
- 5.10 Nasrid shield lazo tile, north wall dado (photograph: Lara Eggleton). 137
- 5.11 Plus Ultra lazo tile, north wall dado (photograph: Lara Eggleton). 138
- 5.12 Habsburg double-headed eagle lazo tile, north wall dado (photograph: Lara Eggleton). 138
- 5.13 Nasrid capital integrating abstracted elements of volutes and acanthus decoration from Ionic and Corinthian orders, with Nasrid motto inscribed above and below (photograph: Lara Eggleton). 140

6 Betancourt

- 6.1 History-Historiography Klein Group (author). 158

7 Jordan

- 7.1 St. Thomas Becket Window, Angers Cathedral, c. 1230–35 (photograph: Henri de Feraudy). 170
- 7.2 St. Thomas Becket Window, Angers Cathedral, c. 1230–35, detail: the Murderers of St. Thomas Becket on Horseback; the Murderers of St. Thomas Becket sail across the Channel; Heraldry of the Beaumont family, Viscounts of Maine (photograph: Henri de Feraudy). 171
- 7.3 St. Thomas Becket Window, Angers Cathedral, c. 1230–35, detail: Coronation of Henry the Young King or Young King Henry refuses to meet with Thomas?; Thomas converses with Henry II; entombment (or translation?) of Thomas Becket (photograph: Henri de Feraudy). 172
- 7.4 The Angevin Empire, northern continental holdings of the Plantagenet kings prior to 1204 (photograph: Adapted from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:France_1154-en.svg; original image by Reigen [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons). 173
- 7.5 St. Thomas Becket Ship-Shaped Ampulla, c. 1250, obverse, Museum of London (photograph: © Museum of London). 179
- 7.6 St. Thomas Becket Ampulla, c. 1200–50, obverse, St. Thomas flanked by Knights, British Museum, #1921,0216.62 (photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum). 182
- 7.7 Seal of Richard de Beaumont, Viscount of Maine, c. 1240 (photograph: Eugène Hucher, ‘Monuments funéraires et sigillographiques des Vicomtes de Beaumont au Maine’, In *Revue Historique et Archéologique du Maine*, 11 (1882), 319–408, at 358). 183

8 Mathews

- 8.1 Pisa, church of San Piero a Grado, exterior view (photograph: author). 200
- 8.2 Pisa, church of San Piero a Grado, exterior view, detail of bacini decoration (photograph: author). 201

8.3	Pisa, church of San Sisto, exterior view (photograph: author).	201
8.4	Pisa, church of San Sisto, exterior view, detail of bacini decoration (photograph: author).	202
8.5	Pisa, church of San Zeno, exterior view (photograph: author).	203
8.6	Pisa, San Piero a Grado, bacino from Majorca (photograph: Graziella Berti and Marcella Giorgio, <i>Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate</i>).	204
8.7	Pisa, San Sisto, lusterware bacino from Egypt (photograph: Graziella Berti and Marcella Giorgio, <i>Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate</i>).	205
8.8	Pisa, San Sisto, bacino from Tunisia or Sicily (photograph: Graziella Berti and Marcella Giorgio, <i>Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate</i>).	206
8.9	Pisa, San Zeno, bacino from Spain (photograph: author).	206

9 Barlow

9.1	The 'wise son' and the 'wicked son', Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Hebrew MS 6, fol. 23r (photograph: reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, The John Rylands Library, The University of Manchester).	220
9.2	The 'wicked son', London, British Library, MS Or 1404, fol. 10v (photograph: British Library).	228
9.3	The Passover meal, Sarajevo Haggadah, Sarajevo, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina B–H. zem. muz. 9313 (olim 9034), fol. 64v (photograph: National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina).	231

10 Frojmovic

10.1	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. Hebr. 5/1, fol. 18v: Binding of Isaac. Single column initial word panel relating to the weekly bible reading 'Chaye Sarah' (photograph: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München).	244
10.2	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. Hebr. 5/1, fo. 21v: Isaac on his deathbed, Esau bringing his quarry, Jacob escaping. Single column initial word panel relating to the weekly bible reading 'Toledot' (photograph: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München).	244
10.3	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. Hebr. 5/1, fol. 47v: Single column initial word panel relating to the weekly bible reading 'Va-ayra': Moses and Elders (photograph: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München).	244
10.4	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. Hebr. 5/2, fol. 209v: Double column initial word panel at the beginning of the commentary to the book of Daniel: the three youths and their protector in the fiery oven, King Nebuchadnezzar and his soldiers; the adoration of the golden idol (photograph: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München).	245
10.5	Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana B. 30 Inf., fol. 1v: Initial word panel to the book of Genesis, detail: Adam and Eve with face covered by hair (photograph: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana – Milano/De Agostini Picture Library).	246

xii *Figures*

- | | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 10.6 | Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana B. 30 Inf., fol. 102r: Initial word panel to the book of Leviticus: Binding of Isaac (photograph: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana – Milano/De Agostini Picture Library). | 247 |
| 10.7 | Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana B. 30 Inf., fol. 182v: Initial word panel to the book of Deuteronomy: Moses receiving the second set of tablets (photograph: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana – Milano/De Agostini Picture Library). | 248 |
| 10.8 | Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana B. 32 Inf., fol. 136r: Final page of the manuscript: Leviathan, Behemoth and Ziz; Messianic banquet (photograph: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana – Milano/De Agostini Picture Library). | 249 |
| 10.9 | Universitätsbibliothek der LMU München, Cim. 15, fol. 204r: Parable of Christ separating the sheep and the goats; resurrection (photograph: Universitätsbibliothek der LMU München). | 252 |

Acknowledgements

The editors gratefully acknowledge the support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

Contributors

Jane Barlow is an independent scholar, and a former Assistant Librarian at the Leopold Muller Memorial Library and Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. She holds an MA in Medieval Studies from the University of Leeds.

Roland Betancourt is Assistant Professor in Art History at the University of California, Irvine. He received his doctorate in the History of Art at Yale University with a dissertation entitled, 'The Proleptic Image: An Investigation of the Medium in Byzantium'. He is currently working on a translation and analysis of a Middle-Byzantine liturgical commentary, the *Protheoria*, by Nicholas and Theodore Andida. Among other projects, he is editing a special edition of the journal *postmedieval* entitled, 'Imagined Encounters: Historiographies for a New World' (Winter 2016), and has edited, with Maria Taroutina, *Byzantium/Modernism* (Leiden: Brill, 2015). His work and methodology focus on both Byzantine and contemporary discourses on the ontological valences of the image and its temporality.

Lara Eggleton is a Teaching and Research Fellow at the University of Manchester and at the University of Leeds. Her postdoctoral research project concerns Victorian travel encounters with Islamic architecture and decoration. Her 'History in the making: the ornament of the Alhambra and the past-facing present' was published in the *Journal of Art Historiography*, 2012 and '“A Living Ruin”: Palace, City, and Landscape in Nineteenth-Century Travel Descriptions of Granada' was published in the *Architectural Theory Review*, 2014; 'Reuse and reception in the life of a sixteenth-century chimneypiece', *Renaissance Studies* Volume, 2016.

Eva Frojmovic is Lecturer in the School of Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies at University of Leeds. She specialises in medieval Jewish art and manuscript illumination. She is also Director of the Centre for Jewish Studies. She edited the collection *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other: Visual Representation and Jewish Culture in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

Margaret E. Hadley specialises in the study of late Medieval and Early Modern manuscripts. Expanding the discourse on missals in French translation before 1500, she earned a PhD from Yale University for a dissertation on fifteenth-century manuscript illumination in Tours, France. She has taught courses on philosophy, literature, architecture and art history at universities in Connecticut and Michigan. Her most recently published essay analyses visual commemoration of children, and she

is preparing a new book on problems in heraldry of the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period.

Alyce A. Jordan is Associate Professor of Art History at Northern Arizona University. She received her PhD in the History of Art from Bryn Mawr College in 1994. Her research focuses on medieval stained glass and questions of narrative, identity, and representation. Her book, *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris* (2002) applies contemporary rhetorical theory and practices to better understand that monument and posits a radical re-envisioning of the original ensemble. With Janet Marquardt, she co-edited *Medieval Art and Architecture after the Middle Ages* (2011), which examines issues of reception and the afterlife of medieval art from the Renaissance to the present. She has published in journals such as *Word and Image*, *Mediaevalia*, and *Gesta*.

Catherine E. Karkov is Chair of Art History in the School of Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies at the University of Leeds. She specialises in Anglo-Saxon and early medieval art, and is the author of *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England* (2011), *The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England* (2004), and *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript* (2001). She has also edited and contributed to numerous books and journals. She is currently working on projects on the Franks Casket, and on writing and drawing in Anglo-Saxon England.

Karen Rose Mathews teaches Islamic art and European medieval art at the University of Miami. Her teaching and research interests focus on Christian/Muslim cultural interaction in the medieval Mediterranean. She has published articles on the reception of Romanesque sculpture on the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, on the use and reception of spolia on Ottonian liturgical objects, and on Mamluk architecture of Egypt. Her essay 'Plunder of war or objects of trade? The reuse and reception of Andalusí objects in medieval Pisa' was published in the *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 4/2, 2012. She is working on a book on the use of spolia in relation to merchant mentality in medieval maritime republics, including Genoa and Pisa.

Asa Simon Mittman is Professor of Art History at California State University, Chico. His publications include *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (Routledge, 2006; paperback 2008), *Inconceivable Beasts: The Wonders of the East in the Beowulf Manuscript* (co-written with Susan Kim, ACMRS, 2013), and, coedited with Peter Dendle, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous* (2012; paperback 2013), as well as a number of articles on the subject of monstrosity and marginality in the Middle Ages. He is co-director of Virtual Mappa, with Martin Foys. His forthcoming work will concern the Franks Casket, and images of Jews on medieval world maps.

Nancy L. Wicker is Professor of Art History, Medieval Art History and Archaeology in the Department of Art and Art History, University of Mississippi. Wicker's interdisciplinary research focuses on the reception of Roman art in Scandinavia during the early medieval period. She has participated in the Getty Foundation Seminar, 'The Arts of Rome's Provinces' and collaborated with a contemporary goldsmith to reconstruct early medieval jewellery techniques. In addition to her research on

bracteates, she has published on gender in archaeology, female infanticide during the Viking Age, Germanic animal-style art, and runic literacy. She has co-edited three books on gender and archaeology, including *Situating Gender in European Archaeologies* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2010). She has been co-director of a Digital Humanities Start-Up Grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (HD-51640–13) to develop Project Andvari, an online integrated access to dispersed digital collections of early medieval artefacts.

Introduction

Eva Frojmovic and Catherine E. Karkov

The essays collected in this volume are largely the product of a series of workshops and conference sessions organised between 2009 and 2011 as part of the Arts and Humanities Research Council funded 'Postcolonising the Medieval Image' network.¹ When we began that project we were aware that postcolonial theory had transformed medieval literary, historical and cultural studies, but had had only a limited impact on art historical work, especially work on western medieval art. We were equally struck by the narrow disciplinarity that so often hindered medievalist art historians, a disciplinarity more often than not policed by the generally very traditional nature of institutions such as scholarly societies, editorial boards, or hiring committees. Our project sought to do three things. First, we sought to publicise and promote the importance of postcolonial critique for art historical work on the Middle Ages. We were especially interested in the problem of the medieval West, which is so often constructed as a monolithic Christian entity standing against a more clearly postcolonial Eastern Other; in this book, the less than monolithic, even fragmented character of the so-called West will be emphasised. We are equally interested in those areas that trouble definitions of 'Western art', such as Byzantine art (included as 'Western' in almost all of the standard art history survey books), and the art of the Iberian peninsula, an area of cultural and religious hybridity, but geographically a part of Western Europe. Second, we sought to question the relevance of key art historical terms such as 'iconography' or 'influence', or at least to question the ways in which they were deployed in the maintenance of canonical approaches to art history and,² indeed, the art historical canon itself. Postcolonial theory with its openings to multiple ambivalent, conflicting and ongoing narratives offers a valuable tool for moving beyond the image's bondage to textual sources and into a more complex understanding of the way in which images function in relation to their viewers.³ Third, we sought to break down some of the boundaries that have colonised the field, be they disciplinary or chronological. Having just gone through the United Kingdom's 2008 Research Excellence Framework exercise, it was disheartening to hear of colleagues who were unable to submit what they believed to be their best publications because they were deemed 'interesting, but not art history',⁴ as well as by the consistent othering of the medieval by REF reviewers working in later fields.⁵

The project was the result of our own inherently interdisciplinary work, as well as of our own developing use of and interest in postcolonial critique. In 2001, Catherine Karkov had published a paper on the medieval Irish sculptures known as sheelana-gigs that suggested the sculptures were intimately associated with land and history, and ultimately a postcolonial response to the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland.⁶

Two years later, informed by the pioneering work of Jeffrey Jerome Cohen on a post-colonial British Isles,⁷ she applied a similar reading to the late medieval Irish text *Accalam na Senórach*, interpreting it as a postcolonial response to Gerald of Wales's *Topographia Hibernica*.⁸ Like the sheela-na-gigs, these texts were concerned with control of land and history, as well as with issues of hybridity (political, sexual and linguistic), all subjects that continue to inform her work.

Eva Frojmovic's first foray into the postcolonial took place as part of the Migratory Aesthetics II conference in 2006.⁹ The resulting essay, 'Jewish Scribes and Christian Illuminators: Interstitial Encounters and Cultural Negotiation',¹⁰ was an engagement with the book *An Accented Cinema*.¹¹ The notion of accent, created in the interstices of cultures, made it possible to speak of the cultural negotiation that underlies the unlocatable difference which characterised the earliest Hebrew illuminated books in medieval Ashkenaz/Germany. Frojmovic has since gone on to consider hybridity as a strategy of Jewish self-positioning in the context of the moving Christian-Muslim frontier in the Iberian peninsula.¹²

Other medievalist art historians were also beginning to think about their objects of study in terms of issues of hybridity, imperialism and Orientalism, issues key to post-colonial studies from its inception. They were also beginning to question the value of some of the terms and methods traditionally at the heart of art historical analysis, such as 'influence' and 'iconography'. Jill Caskey, for example, described the way in which studies of southern Italian art could benefit from postcolonial theory, observing that,

Concepts of cultural influence as elaborated in recent critiques of imperialism ... adeptly explain the Amalfitan, ambivalent and ever-changing relationship to sovereign and metropolitan authorities and their visual cultures, and vice versa. This easy fit derives in part from the fact that postcolonial critiques begin with a premise of cultural, ethnic, or religious differences ... Furthermore, their central Gramscian supposition – that the relationship between governed and governing is dynamic, prone to cross-fertilization, and subject to change – helps draw out certain features of Amalfitan art.¹³

In the same volume she questioned whether the appearance of Islamic styles and motifs in southern Italian architecture was the result of 'passive influence, aggressive appropriation, or shared architectural and cultural practices'.¹⁴

It was not until the appearance of two collections of essays devoted to postcolonial theory and the Middle Ages, that art historians really began to embrace postcolonial theory. *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern* included the work of only one art historian (Karkov), although the editors had done their best to make the volume less literary.¹⁵ The book was significant for its breaking up of the periodic isolation of the medieval by placing essays on medieval topics in dialogue with essays on early modern material, a practice that is now widespread. It took as its starting point the colonialism of modernity. In their introduction to the volume Ingham and Warren wrote that,

The ideological force of the West's colonizing claim to be "modern," and the concomitant claim that its colonizing forces are agents of 'modernization,' is furthered (rather than unsettled) by defining colonialism as a 'modern problem.' Such temporal limits, to be sure, circumscribe in the interest of historical particularity and

definitional clarity. Yet in so doing such assertions imply, if unwittingly, colonial 'modernity' as a fact of history rather than an ideology of colonialism.¹⁶

This same historicism was also critiqued in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, edited by Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams, a volume that succeeded in its attempt at disciplinary diversity by including essays that dealt with illuminated manuscripts, maps, a Roman sarcophagus, tapestries and an oil painting, many from a cross-disciplinary perspective. For the introduction to the volume the editors took as their starting point the miniature of the Meeting of the Magi from the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, articulating the ways in which its conflation of cultures, the past and the present, the spectacular and the mundane, evoke wonder in the viewer. Yet at the same time the miniature appropriates religious pilgrimage for violent crusade, Jerusalem for Paris, eastern luxury and materials (gold, the mineral pigments that cover the page) for the delight of the colonial Western eye.¹⁷ However, Kabir and Williams also remind us that the *Très Riches Heures*, together with most of fifteenth-century art, was in the late nineteenth century seen as 'primitive' (*Les primitifs français*), thus aligning late medieval art with the distant places of racialising colonialism during the high point of modern imperialism.¹⁸ This reading opens the space of meaning for the 'multivalent' Magi, at once Others (or othered), and figures of western European crusader ideology. It becomes a 'translated object', an image of the cultural appropriation of the 'Byzantine East' by the 'Latin West', but also a symbol of Zoroastrian, hence eastern, learning, and of orientalisering exotic splendour.¹⁹

The key term that enabled Kabir and Williams's interpretative move was 'translation'. Translation had been a key term in the writing of other postcolonialist medievalists, indeed it figures in most of the publications cited above, but translation as a postcolonial move was the driving force behind this collection of essays, both as a way of thinking about the polymorphous power relationships between cultures in contact, and as a tool for reopening a space for wonder. Translation, they acknowledged, had long been a metaphor for postcolonial writing, but it was also one that enabled negotiation between the medieval and the modern, postcolonial studies and medieval studies, disciplinary boundaries, and those 'multilingual, multicultural realities of medieval studies' in general.²⁰

Within the past ten years articles, essays and monographs devoted to a postcolonial critique of the medieval art of particular times and places, to specific types of objects or images, and even to artistic practices, have become much more common. We cite here in particular the work of project participants, though the list is far more extensive. Asa Simon Mittman's *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* explores the geographical and ideological ordering inherent in medieval processes of mapmaking.²¹ Mittman focuses in particular on issues of the marginal and the monstrous, issues that he develops further in his essay in this volume, as well as in other publications.²² Catherine E. Karkov's *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England* offers a sustained analysis of art in England from the departure of the Romans to the arrival of the Normans as the product of a continuous evolution of postcolonial culture, ultimately appropriated into a specific agenda of nation building.²³ She too continues to explore some of the questions first raised there in her contribution to this volume. Karen Eileen Overbey's *Sacral Geographies: Saints, Shrines and Territory in Medieval Ireland* articulates the intersection of sacred space and the socio-political space of the patrons of, and rituals

associated with, reliquaries and shrines in medieval Ireland.²⁴ Patterns of patronage, ritual and narrative she argues, authorised political power structures. Overbey's book is also important for its close attention to the materiality of the objects and the ideological work of both materials and materiality. One can also now cite much of the work done by members of the Material Collective, of which Overbey was a founding member.²⁵

Up to this point we have refrained from offering a definition of the postcolonial. Such a definition is difficult if not impossible to produce as the postcolonial is, and always has been, a contested field. Its fraught history, along with the differing ways in which it might be defined, or differing situations it describes, is taken up in two critical publications that appeared in 2012: Catherine E. Karkov's 'Postcolonial', and Karen Eileen Overbey's 'Postcolonial'.²⁶ While in part summaries of the field, these publications are important because they demonstrate that 'postcolonial' had by that point become a key-word in the study of medieval art and culture – though, again, its relevance to the field has not been universally accepted. Karkov's chapter provides a summary of the development of postcolonial theory and then demonstrates why that theory was crucial to the study of Anglo-Saxon art through an analysis of the late ninth- to tenth-century Nunburnholme Cross. She demonstrates the ways in which the cross maps the ongoing postcolonial culture of the period roughly *c.* 400 to *c.* 1100 CE in England. Her analysis focuses on issues of reuse, translation as a strategy of resistance and appropriation, visual mimicry, violence and hybridity. She defines the postcolonial as arising 'from the encounter of a colonising culture or force with a range of indigenous social, political or cultural practices', and as describing 'a relationship resulting from a colonial encounter' rather than 'simply any type of disempowerment or agency'.²⁷ She also stresses the need to separate 'Orientalism' from the 'postcolonial', as the former implies an East/West binary and exoticisation of the other that are by no means necessary elements of the postcolonial. The collective essays in this volume make the same point. Karen Eileen Overbey's chapter, on the other hand, provides a summary of the etymological-lexical development of the term. For Overbey,

Postcolonialism, like feminism, attends to displaced subjectivities and seeks to reassess both the moments and scope of 'history' by rewriting from (an)other perspective(s); in postcolonial studies, displacement is the result of physical and social occupation of the local by the imperial.²⁸

While Karkov demonstrates the relationship between the (post)colonising process of texts, language and objects in Anglo-Saxon England, Overbey demonstrates the relationship between the work of art as postcolonial witness in contemporary art and in the art of medieval Ireland. Her analysis focuses specifically on the fourteenth-century Domnach Airgid ('Silver Church') shrine.²⁹ She closes with an observation with which most postcolonialist art historians would agree: 'A postcolonial approach considers medieval objects not as surfaces to be decoded but as sites of enunciation and encounter: both discursive and material, both medieval and modern'.³⁰

Each of the essays in this volume offers its own understanding of what constitutes the postcolonial, but together they demonstrate the centrality of postcolonial theory to a reading of medieval art and imagery (be that imagery visual or textual). They demonstrate that far from being a manifestation of a unified and 'colonising' culture,

western medieval art was deployed repeatedly and multifariously as part of national, local, or individual strategies of resistance or appropriation, and/or as part of cultural translation of hybridity. Several of them explicitly, and many more implicitly, work across the medieval and the modern to articulate the ways in which medieval objects remain for their modern scholars and audiences ‘sites of enunciation and encounter’ in and around which issues of cultural power, value and appropriation continue to be worked out.

The language of the postcolonial

Language, translation, and their role in creating cultural identities and hybridities are themes that unite many of the chapters in this book, but three in particular focus on the relationship between Latin and vernacular, Rome and the Roman Church and their Others, as well as Rome and the Roman Church *as* Other. By ‘language’, we mean both the textual and visual forms of expression encountered on the art works in question, but also the language of scholarly analysis and publication that have dominated – indeed – formed, traditional readings of the works.

Nancy Wicker’s essay unfolds a new social history of late Iron Age/early medieval Scandinavian art, centred on the translation of Roman medallions into Scandinavian bracteates. The very uncertainty of periodisation (do the Middle Ages in Scandinavia begin only with the area’s Christianisation?) points to a pattern of time-othering, in which co-evalness is denied to a culture perceived as marginal or Other.³¹ Wicker urges a move from the archeologically driven focus on etic categorisation (formal and iconographic) to an emic description of the life of the object, the use of the object, and the agency of the men and women who made and used the bracteates. In the process of translation from double-sided medallion given between men in a symbolic order defined by military loyalty to single-sided pendant worn by women as amulet, no singular, fixed meaning or identity emerges. The objects are neither Roman nor Scandinavian but the result of an encounter between the Roman Empire and a Germanic and polytheistic North. They are also hybrid witnesses to contact in the context of (Roman, Scandinavian) colonial expansion and rule. Wicker makes a strong case against seeing Scandinavian gold bracteates as derivative and weak imitations of Roman medallions, and argues instead for seeing in them creative responses to and appropriations, or translations, of Roman imagery (from emperor to animal-human hybrid) and of its culture of writing. The bracteates, she argues, display a deliberate resistance to and appropriation of Roman imperial imagery, translating it into a visual language that, while clearly meaningful to the makers and wearers of the bracteates, continues to defy the categories of traditional iconographic analysis. On many of the bracteates, the new imagery was accompanied by inscriptions in the runic alphabet and in the Scandinavian language. Both types of language then, the visual and the textual, were a form of mimicry that simultaneously referenced and subverted the dominant culture of imperial Rome. She concludes that, ‘Seen from the perspective of postcolonialism, bracteate studies can move beyond the previously dominant agendas of typological classification and iconographical attribution to decolonise the rich complexities of the encounter between Imperial Roman culture and the Northern frontier’.

Wicker’s essay also asks questions about our traditional understanding of what constitutes ‘western medieval art’. The bracteates exist on the frontier of what we consider Europe, as well as what we consider early medieval art. As products of fifth- and

sixth-century Scandinavia, they fall both chronologically and geographically outside of the Late Antique, defined, as it is, in relation to the art of, or influenced by, the Mediterranean world. Nor are they considered to be early medieval art as defined by scholars both outside of and within Scandinavia, the latter of whom would see the 'medieval' as beginning only with Christianisation. From a postcolonial perspective, their otherness and their hybridity reveal the arbitrariness of our modern chronological and disciplinary terminology.

Catherine E. Karkov's essay is equally concerned with emerging cultural identities in the early medieval North. She interprets the eighth-century Franks Casket through a Heideggerian critique as a postcolonial *ding* (thing/gathering) that, in the act of bridging cultures (Northern 'Germanic' and Roman) draws attention to their irreducible differences, and to the hybridity of the emerging Anglo-Saxon kingdom in which the casket was produced. The casket becomes, following Homi Bhabha, a third space that is both and neither a part of the Germanic and Roman 'homelands' to which the Anglo-Saxons so often looked back. But it is also a new space of conquest in which the British culture, the Other encountered during both Roman and Anglo-Saxon colonisation of the island, is silenced. The multiple voices of the casket, which speaks both as a thing, the bones of a dead and exiled whale, and through its prominent inscriptions, are central to her argument. The casket's scripts and languages – Roman and runic alphabets, Latin and Old English languages – speak over and against each other, sometimes merging in an uneasy alliance, sometimes declaring their insistent otherness. Postcolonial theories of a liminal third space of transformation, and of translation as a process generative of such a third space, make it possible to conceptualise this multilingual object anew, and to hear it speak its riddles without forcing it to provide us with neat and tidy answers, linear or teleological narratives, or a singular meaning.

While the Franks Casket, one of the great treasures of the British Museum, falls firmly within the period we consider early medieval, Karkov's essay, like Wicker's, questions traditional scholarly categories such as 'Germanic', or even 'Anglo-Saxon', calling attention to the ways in which the casket reveals the multiple and often competing identities that hide beneath these terms. She reads the casket not as the peaceful statement of religious and cultural synchrony that it is so often considered to be, but as an object that deploys religion and history as part of cultural appropriation and political conquest.

Margaret E. Hadley examines the contested relationship between French and Latin in the fifteenth-century illuminated Yale Missal (New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 425). It is exceptional in its artistic ambition to place a vernacular liturgical book on the same footing as Latin mass books. And yet, because this codex was arguably intended for a lay person, however highly placed, the codex is, in Homi Bhabha's words, 'less than one and double'. The Missal is a hybrid space in which the written text includes both French and Latin cues, while the painted images contain scrolls inscribed in Latin, the background architecture is in a variety of languages, some real and some imaginary, and painted books or folded pages contain evocations of script only. In the images, pictorial language works to create Rome as Other, undermining its authority by asserting the high status of vernacular French and thereby constructing 'France'. Together the written and painted languages of the manuscript reveal complex negotiations of the boundary between the laity and clergy, the authority of the Latin exemplars and the popular status of the vernacular translations. Echoing/repetition and camouflaging, and the play between French and Latin, engage the implied

user in a series of cultural translations that have the potential to contest the power of the church to speak in a single ecclesiastical language.

Hadley's paper articulates some of the tensions that existed between the Roman Church and local religious practice at the very end of the Middle Ages, the period in which cultures identified as Other in the early days of the Church were beginning to, or perhaps were once again, othering Rome. Wicker and Karkov's chapters dealt with works of art that were created in or beyond the fringes of an expanding 'Europe' that was just coming into being. Through a close reading of the visual and verbal languages of the Yale Missal, a hybrid and multilingual manuscript, Hadley demonstrates that mimicry and translation were at work as strategies of resistance within the European heartland in even the most ambitious and luxurious works of medieval art.

The location of the postcolonial

The three essays in this section of the book deal with works of art that sit uncomfortably in and between contemporary notions of East and West. All three also deal in various ways with issues of display (museological, art historical, historical, imaginary), identity, and interpretation across the medieval/modern divide, helping to illuminate the problem of chronological as well as geographic (and one might add disciplinary) boundaries. Asa Mittman's essay offers an assessment of particular certitudes (colonial, geographic, historical and art historical) critiqued with and through a set of medieval manuscripts concerned with mapping and worlding: the world map that forms part of a thirteenth-century Psalter (London, British Library, Add. MS 28681), Matthew Paris's c. 1250 Map of the Holy Land, and the Defective, Cotton, and Egerton recensions of the fourteenth-century *Book of Sir John Mandeville*. The real focus of the chapter is on the elusive *Book of Sir John Mandeville*, but the earlier images help to articulate the many problems of time, location and viewpoint the *Book of Sir John Mandeville* contains. Does it describe one world or two? The 'author' (the manuscripts contain a series of accretions) is often very precise about what he has seen or heard, and the images are often equally specific in detail, yet there is ultimately a blurring of the lines between here and there, now and then, the real and the fictional, us and them, though as Mittman demonstrates, the text (and scholarship on it) fails to consider that the Western European Christian male 'us' might bear some of the marks and beliefs of 'them' – one of the hallmarks of colonial certitude. Naming also functions as a means of establishing control (as it does in a very different context in Karkov's paper). The naming of the lands of the 'East', which is really the geographic centre these manuscripts seek to control, is multiple and ambivalent: the Holy Land, the 'land beyond the sea', the Promised Land. As Mittman asks, to whom was this Promised Land promised? And where, precisely does it lie? Mittman concludes, as do so many of the papers in this volume, by questioning the certitude of that form of art historical analysis that seeks definitive answers and posits works of art as problems to be solved. The certitude of the colonial viewpoint and the certitude of medieval geography become in the final analysis disturbing analogues for the certitude of the canonical modern art historical tradition – the latter's nut-cracking and problem-solving is yet another colonising move.

While Mittman explored the ambivalent location of the East by the West, Lara Egg-leton is concerned with the making and afterlife of the Mexuar Hall of the Alhambra in Granada, an area of Spain that has shifted uneasily between an 'Islamic East' and

a 'Medieval West', as well as a monument that spans the slippery border between the medieval and the modern. The Mexuar was originally constructed in the fourteenth century as a council chamber for the Nasrid rulers Ismail I and Muhammad V, and was converted to Catholic religious use after the *Reconquista* of 1492. Eggleton's essay focuses in particular on a pair of murals inserted above the twin doors of the south wall under the patronage of the Habsburg emperor Charles V in the sixteenth century. She argues that these post-*Reconquista* murals, which frame Charles V's Herculean 'Plus Ultra' motto among 'arabesques', articulate the complex political and historical agendas of the period, and help to create a hybrid space of cultural contact and tension. The frescoes are themselves hybrids, most likely the work of Moriscos (Muslims who had converted, often under duress, to Christianity) and executed in a tradition that remains Nasrid in terms of style, material and technique. This style, however, was one created under the patronage of the Castilian court specifically as a display of Habsburg imperial power and social and political transformation, and this leads to a certain ambivalence. The layers of earlier artwork, and the continuation of the Nasrid style in the execution of the new sixteenth-century decoration might be said to undermine the power of the imperial court at the same time that the inserted imagery seeks to affirm it. As was the case with the manuscripts discussed by Mittman, the Mexuar resists art historical classification in that it offers us no definitive iconographies or clear answers to our questions. In its ruined and then restored state, it contains layers of overlapping and contradictory elements, it is Western and non-Western, Islamic and Christian, medieval and modern. Eggleton's postcolonial reading of the space exposes its multiple and co-existing voices, its diverse and fractured identities. It becomes a site of encounter that enunciates both resistance and appropriation.

Byzantine art occupies an ambiguous position as simultaneously European-qua-Christian and yet one of Europe's exotic others. Roland Betancourt's essay uses two recent but very differently framed and conceived exhibitions of Byzantine art as a means of critiquing the very relevance and ethics of art history in a global world. He sees ethics as the crucial new space for art historical scholarship as the reach of art history continues to expand via the globalised museum and university. He writes:

As a methodological imperative, the ethical enacts the project of a postcolonial ethos in its incessant demands for justice in a global system in which boundaries and borders of cultural exchange have become more permeable, while the hegemonic powers and structures of transaction and exchange are still greatly centralised and dominated by traditional imperial authorities.

The unobtainable traditional goal of 'objective scholarship' or 'factual information' presented to a viewer/reader positioned as provincial is one such structure of transaction. Art historians must acknowledge that their work now has very real public and social consequences as, at the very least, we construct interpretations and project new futures in our writings about the past. We must also acknowledge that models of scholarship and curation are changing, and that the reader/viewer is not only an active part of the pursuit and production of meaning, but should now be positioned at the very centre of art historical writing and display. We need to provincialise ourselves. Betancourt's critique of the recent exhibitions of Byzantine art focuses in part on the differing treatment of the icons on display in relation to the spaces, contexts and functions in and for which they were made, as well as in relation to the viewer.

Particularly at issue is the subject of religion and the display of objects that are still religious objects in the secularised setting of the museum. Within such a space how can a faithful viewer *not* be positioned as provincial? And how can the global museum (or global art history) *not* be positioned as a colonial ‘missionary endeavour’? Can the display of and scholarship on indigenous or ‘non-Western’ art separate itself from neo-liberal and neo-colonial ideologies? In order to do so he emphasises, as do Mittman and Eggleton, that we must rid ourselves of the belief that scholarship must construct coherent and convincing stories. The gaps and silences in what we know (or can know) open a space for discursive freedom, crosspollination and meandering. In curation, in art historical writing, as in the Mexuar of the Alhambra, fragmentation and disjunction invite the reader/viewer to create their own ideas of meaning. Betancourt’s contribution to this volume helps to reveal the often not so hidden colonialism with which scholars and institutions continue to treat their publics.

The ambivalence of the postcolonial

The four papers in this section all deal in different ways with questions of conflict and/or coexistence, troubling but also (in some instances) redefining what conflict or coexistence mean and how they are manifested in very different ways in very different areas of Europe. They explore ambivalence between and within countries or religious communities, as well as within the positioning of the self, at the same time that they demonstrate the very complex and sometimes contradictory ways in which medieval art can be interpreted. They resist closed or monolithic narratives and demonstrate, again, the importance of placing the viewer, medieval or modern, at the centre of art historical analysis and writing.

Thirteenth-century France is not usually thought of as a postcolonial culture, but Alyce Jordan’s study of the Thomas Becket window in Angers Cathedral reveals the ways in which the saint himself became a site of hybridity and resistance as the region’s colonisers (the Anglo-Norman Plantagenets) become the colonial other to the Capetian French. This area of apparent coexistence was rife with conflict. Jordan combines postcolonial theory with frontier studies to ‘deconstruct’ our notions of a monolithic Christian West and reveal the ambivalent and heterogeneous discourses of power at work in this very specific space. Capetian conquest in 1204–05 of the area, which had been central part of the Anglo-Norman Plantagenet Empire, turned it into a frontier society at the periphery of Capetian France. A frontier in the Middle Ages,

comprised not a linear demarcation in the modern sense of a border, but rather a region or zone – a fluid spatial entity containing comparably fluid institutions and structures, which, in turn, enabled and encouraged the construction of multiple loyalties and multivalent identities.

Historically Becket was a figure evoked in support of both the Plantagenet and Capetian monarchies, and the window’s iconography is open to multiple readings. Bishop Guillaume de Beaumont, the window’s patron, exploited the ambivalence of Becket iconography to create a monument both to his family’s historical prominence and to his continued allegiance to the Plantagenets. The saint and the window thus become ‘resistant sites’, spaces in which authority is both deformed and subverted, and coexistence and conflict are displayed side-by-side.

Karen Rose Mathews focuses on Islamic bowls (*bacini*) that were used as architectural decoration on eleventh-century Pisan churches. Traditionally understood as triumphalist symbols of Pisan military victory over Islam, Mathews reads the *bacini* instead as a manifestation of a 'merchant aesthetic', a sign of Pisan achievement and ambition, and a sign of Pisan cultural sophistication. The *bacini* were both luxury items and objects in motion. They were functional ceramics in the Islamic world, but were transformed into aesthetic objects when they reached Pisa, first as desired commodities, objects of trade, but eventually 'decommoditised' to adorn churches. They became objects that were at once more than and other than commodities. As such, they entered into a border zone between the culture in which they had been created and that in which they served as ornament, in which their meaning was destabilised. Their 'original' meaning and function could never be completely erased, nor could they be completely separated from the people who made and exchanged them. The *bacini* were ambivalent objects and reflected the ambivalent image of Islamic culture that the Pisans constructed, an image that had to allow for both coexistence and conflict. The Muslims of the Mediterranean were at one and the same time military opponents, religious others, trading partners, and role models of both cultural sophistication and entrepreneurship. This led to the creation of an imaginary geography that allowed Pisa to establish its own importance within the shifting hierarchies of power around a Mediterranean that was dominated by Muslim traders, and in which the *bacini* became part of an imaginary 'East' constructed on Pisan soil.

The ambivalent relationship between communities, this time the Jewish, Muslim and Christian communities of Aragon, is also the subject of Jane Barlow's chapter. Each group, she argues, saw the others as allies with valuable skills to be shared, but also as enemies and competitors for power. Barlow's analysis is centred around the image of the 'wicked son' in the garb of a Muslim warrior at the Seder meal in the fourteenth-century Catalan/Aragonese Rylands Haggadah (Manchester, John Rylands Library, Hebrew MS 6), whom she reads as a sign of the shifting and traumatic relationships between two minority groups, the Muslim and Jewish communities, under conditions that Robert I. Burns called 'medieval colonialism'.³² Scholarship on this area of Spain has focused either on coexistence and mutual exchange, or on tension and conflict, especially between Jew and Christian. In contrast, Barlow argues that the image of the wicked son functions as a sign of the Jewish patron's regret at the breakdown of relationships between the communities, especially between the Jewish and Muslim communities. 'How', she asks, 'can one subaltern speak to another?' The image depicts the wicked son as a Muslim warrior brandishing a sword dripping with blood, and Barlow understands it as paradigmatic of the shifting relationship that existed between the three communities. The manuscript itself is a hybrid, executed in the style of and incorporating some of the iconographic repertoire of the Christian European High Gothic, and its luxury status is a testament to the economic strength of a Jewish elite in the 1330s. The figure of the son enacts an assertion of cultural supremacy on the one hand, but it is at the expense of the usual anti-Christian message that surrounds this figure. The image thus creates a 'narrative of ambivalence', and becomes an example of 'dis-coinhabitation', an exiling of the Other that exists within the Self. Christian bigotry and violence were aimed at both the Muslim and Jewish communities, so it became important for Jews to separate themselves from Muslims. In this context the image of the wicked son might figure the Jewish patron/community's guilt and anxiety at Jewish-Christian coinhabitation, and at their betrayal of

the Muslim community during the *Reconquista*. Alongside the Jewish othering of the Muslim, there is also evidence that the two groups maintained a dialogue and felt similar frustrations at their subaltern status. They were both allies and enemies. The passage that the image of the wicked son accompanies is one that must be retold as part of liturgical performance, and one that thus continued to bring the past into the present, remembering events that many other manuscripts attempted to silence.

Eva Frojmovic explores possibilities for neighbouring across porous borderlines in German-speaking Ashkenaz in the thirteenth century. Focusing on two manuscripts, a biblical commentary (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Hebr. 5/I and II) and a Hebrew Bible (Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana B 30–2 Inf), commissioned by the layman Joseph ben Moses in the 1230s, she seeks to reconstruct a dialogue between Jewish patrons and scribes and the Christian illuminators that led to a transformation in Jewish manuscript illumination. It was this dialogue, she suggests, rather than any pre-existing tradition or interdiction that led to the taboo against anthropomorphic imagery and its replacement by a new set of hybrid zoomorphic *mixta* in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Frojmovic again explores the issue of coinhabitation via the passage from cultural mimicry to cultural translation in an unstable space of cultural negotiation. She maps three steps in the process of illumination of the two manuscripts that figure an emerging yet ambivalent Jewish self-identity. (1) The creation of anthropomorphic images that mimic elite Christian manuscript illumination as a performance of a desired but unobtainable social status that elides the question of religion. While such mimicry had the potential to subvert Christian noble power, it also had the potential to subvert Jewish identity, and, in the end, simply to reinforce the Christian noble status it desired to subvert and claim. (2) The defacing of the anthropomorphic images as a means of rejecting the problematic mimicry. (3) The replacing of anthropomorphic figures with new hybrid *mixta* figures that signal *both* a new self-positioning *and* an ambivalence about the purity of identity. They are at once a sign of a Jewish refusal of coinhabitation, and a sign of the ‘hybridity and impurity of Ashkenazi Jewish culture’.

* * *

This volume is a contribution to the ongoing project of postcolonising the medieval image that continues to revitalise our field. But we hope that it is also a contribution to the discipline of art history more generally, especially art history as practised by medievalists. It has necessitated, for us, a rethinking of the methodologies we use for the study of medieval art, particularly beyond the parameters of style and iconography that have, until recently, characterised the study of medieval art since the postwar period. The analyses offered in the contributions to this volume do not reject style and iconography, but demonstrate instead that postcolonial theory offers a way of freeing stylistic and iconographic analysis from their bondage to typological classification, linear or teleological narratives and textual sources, and allowing them to speak to the relationship between viewer and image or object. Style and iconography do social and political work – then and now. They have, and the way we employ and deploy them has, to paraphrase Roland Barthes, ethical consequences. Between them, the contributions to this volume gesture towards a different temporality of the medieval West. Style and iconographic analysis are tools in the recourse to historical context. Postcolonising suggests that historical context is not an absolutely achievable aim

(reachable via a methodological time machine). Historical setting is not a pre-existing set of originary facts that merely need to be found. Rather, it is always constructed in the present and it changes with the life of an object. In this collection, we are as interested in objects' afterlives as in their production, in perpetual readings and re-readings, ongoing production of meaning and re-interpretations as much as in elusive 'original' meanings. The essays that follow offer close readings but not closed readings of medieval art, elucidating the ways in which situated viewers, medieval and modern, create multiple, shifting, ambivalent and open-ended meanings that can both conflict and coexist.

Notes

- 1 A full record of papers given during the course of the network grant is available on [http://www.post-col-med.leeds.ac.uk/](http://www.post-col.med.leeds.ac.uk/).
- 2 See, for example, Herbert R. Broderick III, 'Meta-textuality, Sexuality and Intervisuality in MS Junius 11', *Word and Image* 25.4 (2009), 384–401.
- 3 On this point see further Roland Betancourt's contribution to this volume.
- 4 Personal comment from a colleague wishing to remain anonymous.
- 5 For important critiques of the othering of the Middle Ages see Kathleen Davis, *Periodization and Sovereignty: How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Kathleen Davis and Nadia Altschul, eds, *Medievalisms in the Postcolonial World: The Idea of the "Middle Ages" Outside Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Andrew Cole and D. Vance Smith, eds, *The Legitimacy of the Middle Ages: On the Unwritten History of Theory* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).
- 6 Catherine Karkov, 'Sheela-na-gigs and Other Unruly Women: Images of Land and Gender in Medieval Ireland', in *'From Ireland Coming...'*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press/Index of Christian Art, 2001), 313–31.
- 7 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 85–104.
- 8 Catherine Karkov, 'Tales of the Ancients: Colonial Werewolves and the Mapping of Postcolonial Ireland', in *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern*, ed. Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 93–109.
- 9 <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/cath/ahrc/events/2006/0111/postscript.html>
- 10 Eva Frojmovic, 'Jewish Scribes and Christian Illuminators: Interstitial Encounters and Cultural Negotiation', in *Between Judaism and Christianity: Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 281–305.
- 11 Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).
- 12 Eva Frojmovic, 'Jewish Mudejarismo and the Invention of Tradition', in *Late Medieval Jewish Identities: Iberia and Beyond*, ed. Esperanza Alfonso and Carmen Caballero-Navas (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 233–59.
- 13 Jill Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the Region of Amalfi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 22.
- 14 Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean*, 96.
- 15 Ingham and Warren, eds, *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern*, 13.
- 16 Ingham and Warren, eds, *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern*, 2.
- 17 Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams, 'Introduction: A Return to Wonder', in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. Kabir and Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1–21.
- 18 Kabir and Williams, 'Introduction: A Return to Wonder', 2.
- 19 Kabir and Williams, 'Introduction: A Return to Wonder', 5.
- 20 Kabir and Williams, 'Introduction: A Return to Wonder', 23.

- 21 Asa Simon Mittman, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
- 22 See in particular, Asa Simon Mittman and Susan M. Kim, *Inconceivable Beasts: The Wonders of the East in the Beowulf Manuscript* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2013); Asa Simon Mittman and Peter J. Dendle, eds, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
- 23 Catherine E. Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011).
- 24 Karen Eileen Overbey, *Sacral Geographies: Saints, Shrines and Territory in Medieval Ireland* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).
- 25 See further at thematerialcollective.org.
- 26 Catherine E. Karkov, 'Postcolonial', in *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Studies*, ed. Jacqueline Stodnick and Renée R. Trilling (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 149–63; Karen Eileen Overbey, 'Postcolonial', in *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), special issue, *Medieval Art History Today—Critical Terms*, ed. Nina Rowe (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2012), 145–56.
- 27 Karkov, 'Postcolonial', 149.
- 28 Overbey, 'Postcolonial', 145.
- 29 A similar juxtaposition of modern and medieval postcolonial art was the goal of Irish Museum of Modern Art's 1994 *From Beyond the Pale* exhibition, though in that case the medieval remained somewhat marginalised, represented only by a few objects (the sheela-na-gigs), and the postcolonial critique was not sustained, at least not in the published catalogue. See *From Beyond the Pale: Art and Artists at the Edge of Consensus* (Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art, 1994).
- 30 Overbey, 'Postcolonial', 155.
- 31 Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). Elaborated by John M. Ganim, *Medievalism and Orientalism: Three Essays on Literature, Architecture, and Cultural Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- 32 Robert Ignatius Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975).



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Part 1

The language of the postcolonial



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

1 Decolonising gold bracteates

From Late Roman medallions to Scandinavian Migration Period pendants

Nancy L. Wicker

While it may seem counter-intuitive to propose ‘decolonising’ an area that was never colonised, I begin this paper with the premise that even though Scandinavia was never occupied or colonised by the Romans, we can productively apply the concepts of postcolonial theory and hybridity to the study of the region. These approaches provide a useful perspective from which to examine the reaction of northerners to foreign Roman prestige goods, using the concept of hybridity to acknowledge that neither group was homogeneous.¹ While there are many categories of Roman objects that reached the North, I focus on one type of artefact – the Late Roman medallion – and discuss how it was transformed into something else that was not Roman – the Migration Period Scandinavian gold bracteate, an ambiguous hybrid object that does not fit neatly into a traditional binary opposition of Roman versus Scandinavian.² In the first part of this paper, I present a case study on how Roman medallions were incorporated, imitated, assimilated, and adapted in northern society,³ investigating the postcolonised experience of the reception of Roman material beyond the provinces. In the second part, I move beyond this specific material to consider how postcolonial theory might, in the words of Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, ‘encourage an opening up of what the medieval signifies’ by challenging traditional limitations to the discipline of early medieval art history through this consideration of Scandinavian bracteates.⁴

Scandinavian Migration Period art of the fifth and sixth centuries CE has been largely overlooked in the study of early medieval art.⁵ This northern, pagan culture is sometimes characterised as ‘non-Christian’, which is a curious way of defining a society by what it is not (by this line of thinking, it is also ‘non-Buddhist’, ‘non-Hindu’, etc.), or as ‘pre-Christian’, which presupposes an orthodox and inexorable teleological march toward the supposed civilising impetus and ultimate triumph of Christianity. The period is proto-historic rather than fully historic since there are only brief cryptic inscriptions in runic characters but no other contemporary indigenous inscriptions. The sources of our knowledge of this culture are thus mostly archaeological, with the period regarded as part of the Iron Age in Scandinavia, where the medieval period is considered to begin only with Christianisation in the eleventh century. Before I turn to theoretical and methodological concerns to suggest how the application of the concepts of postcolonialism and hybridity may inform our understanding of bracteates and their place in medieval art history, I will introduce this material that has been marginalised in the art historical canon and thus is relatively unknown outside the specialty of Scandinavian Iron Age archaeology.

During the period known as the Roman Iron Age in Scandinavia, from the beginning of the Common Era through the fourth century, Roman vessels and coins were

deposited in hoards and in prestigious graves. Research on these imported objects has traditionally revolved around three theories for why they were brought to Scandinavia: trade, subsidies, and war booty.⁶ Rather than matter-of-factly accepting Roman vessels as imported materials, Fredrik Ekengren takes a different approach and asks how the significance of these objects changed once they were brought to the North – that is, how their meanings or symbolic values may have been altered.⁷ In this paper, I will pose similar questions about how Roman medallions were reinterpreted in a new environment after their arrival in Scandinavia.

A case study of medallions, medallion imitation, and bracteates

Roman medallions and medallion imitations

Medallions, based on the solidus coin introduced by Constantine around AD 310, were minted by Roman emperors for special occasions.⁸ A total of seven fourth-century Roman medallions have been found in Scandinavia – five from Denmark and two from Norway. They include individual medallions of Constantine the Great (reigning 306–37), Constantius II as Caesar (before 337), Constantius II as emperor (r. 337–361), Constans (r. 337–50 but represented by an example dated more closely to 347–48), and Valens (r. 364–78), as well as two examples of medallions of Valentinian I (r. 364–75).⁹ These pieces display a portrait bust of the Emperor on the obverse and seated or standing figures on the reverse. Little is known about how such medallions were used among people outside the Empire, but they may have served as ceremonial gifts or payments. We base our understanding on a passage from Gregory of Tours who wrote in his sixth century *History of the Franks* that the Emperor Tiberius II (r. 574–82) had given medallions to the Frankish king Chilperic (r. 561–84).¹⁰ Thus medallions found in Scandinavia have been explained as imperial rewards for loyalty or compensation to northerners who had served in the auxiliary troops and then returned home.¹¹ We can only imagine how these objects were used after they reached this alien, northern society that did not have a monetary economy.

Besides the seven medallions discovered in Scandinavia, thirteen so-called ‘barbarian’ medallion imitations have been found in Scandinavia, including one from Denmark, seven from Norway, and five from Sweden.¹² These ersatz medallions display simplified variations of the images known from medallions – the portrait bust (Figure 1.1) and standing figures – but also a horse and rider (Figure 1.2) and various enigmatic hybrid images. Occasionally the design on a Scandinavian example is specific enough to recognise it as an imitation of a particular medallion type. Namely, a piece from Godøy, Norway, mimics the image and inscription of a medallion of Constans, and imagery on an example from Åk, Norway, simplifies an image of Victory and Liberty with a trophy on a medallion of Magnentius (r. 350–53),¹³ but it is not easy to trace exemplars for others. In most cases, dates of the issues of particular medallions by emperors are known; however, it is difficult to date medallion imitations. We do not know how much time elapsed between the production of medallions and their imitations, nor do we know when the medallions arrived in Scandinavia. In fact, we do not even know where these imitations were made. Yet it seems apparent that images on medallions (and also perhaps medallion imitations) were the models for the objects known as the Scandinavian Migration Period gold bracteates.



Figure 1.1 Obverse, Medallion imitation, from Lilla Jored, Kville parish, Bohuslän, Sweden (IK 107); Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 421; diam. 3.9 cm (photograph no. 14710 by Ulf Bruxe, SHM 1993–06–18, reproduced under Creative Commons).*



Figure 1.2 Reverse, Medallion imitation, from Tunalund, Hjärsta parish, Uppland, Sweden (IK 193); Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 420; diam. 3.8 cm (photograph no. 14436 by Ulf Bruxe SHM 1993–07–28, reproduced under Creative Commons).

Scandinavian Migration Period bracteates

Over one thousand bracteates have been found, mostly in southern Scandinavia but also distributed across Europe from England to Hungary.¹⁴ Unlike medallions and their imitations that were struck from both sides simultaneously, bracteates were made by means of a simpler one-sided stamping technique, perhaps reflecting what Greg Woolf calls a ‘technology gap’ that was experienced in the provinces when local artisans aspired to produce Roman-type artefacts.¹⁵ Scandinavian bracteates are dated to the fifth and sixth centuries due to their presence in hoards with over three dozen Late Roman and Byzantine solidi coins, which range in date from Valentinian (r. 364–75) through Justinian (r. 518–27).¹⁶ Yet the models for bracteate imagery are presumed to be the fourth-century Roman medallions (and perhaps their imitations) with the Emperor’s head in profile, not these later solidi with *en face* Emperor’s head that have been found with bracteates. Thus, although bracteate images seem to have been developed from fourth-century medallions and coins, they were in use alongside fifth-century solidi. Why Scandinavians in the fifth century began to manufacture an object emulating earlier Roman or Roman-like objects is baffling. From our standpoint of unmasking a postcolonised relationship, this question may be considered fascinating. However, instead of delving into the dilemma of the genesis of the bracteate object type and its imagery, the study of these objects has been almost entirely dominated by investigations into typology and iconography.

In 1855, Christian Jürgensen Thomsen – who is best known for his division of European prehistory into the Stone Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age – identified Scandinavian bracteates as imitations of Late Roman coins and medallions.¹⁷ From this time onwards, scholars have focused on organising bracteates by classifying them according to images depicted in the central field of these small disks. In 1895, Oscar Montelius applied the methods of typological classification to the study of bracteates and arranged most of them into the types A, B, C, and D, which are the basic categories still used today.¹⁸ The first three types are linked closely to images on Late Roman medallions, with Type A derived from the portrait bust of the emperor (Figure 1.3), Type B stemming from various Roman compositions with standing figures including Victory Crowning the Victor (Figure 1.4), and Type C perhaps indebted to images of the arrival of the Emperor on horseback (the Roman *Adventus* scene) (Figure 1.5). Type D bracteates (Figure 1.6), on the other hand, show abstract interlaced animal ornamentation known as Germanic Style I or Salin’s Style I after the Swedish scholar Bernhard Salin, with no obvious connection to Roman imagery.¹⁹

Throughout the twentieth century, scholars advocated a rather hermetic stylistic evolution of bracteates from early examples that closely follow Roman examples through later iterations that depart radically from classical figural art. Those who study bracteates often seem – as Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk noted for artefacts from outside Western painting – ‘to proceed as if these were objects that simply appeared from nowhere and were no more than formal exemplars that allowed artists to rethink style and aesthetics’.²⁰ Similarly, Fredrik Svanberg notes for Viking art of the ninth through eleventh centuries that the ‘interesting thing was [merely] the series of types of artefacts’, pointing to scholars who make assumptions ‘as if the features existed in past reality, just waiting to be described’.²¹ In 1963 Mats Malmer critiqued Montelius’s ‘impressionistic’ methods yet retained his typological classification of bracteate Types A through D. Rather than subscribing to an ‘emic’ perspective, that



Figure 1.3 Type A bracteate (IK 189), from Trollhättan, Västergötland, Sweden; Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 1164; diam. 2.3 cm (photograph no. 14602 by Ulf Bruxe SHM 1993-07-08, reproduced under Creative Commons).



Figure 1.4 Type B bracteate (IK 190), from Trollhättan, Västergötland, Sweden; Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 421; diam. 2.8 cm (photograph no. 14602 by Ulf Bruxe SHM 1993-07-08, reproduced under Creative Commons).



Figure 1.5 Type C bracteate (IK 220), from Böja parish, Västergötland, Sweden; Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 10237; diam. 2.8 cm (photograph no. 14275 by Ulf Bruze SHM 1993–07–14, reproduced under Creative Commons).

is, focusing on features that were meaningful to the members of that society, Malmer described ‘etic’ or external categories of features that were helpful to him as a scholar for organising bracteates into a logical scheme.²² I have protested that instead of developing classifications of bracteates for the sake of classification, we should consider the agency of the people who made and used bracteates.²³ However, understanding the lives of people during the Migration Period has remained in the background as many scholars continue to focus on the typological classification of bracteate imagery while others have become nearly obsessed with the iconography.

Although the pictures on Roman medallions were at least superficially emulated on Scandinavian bracteates, the meaning of the images has been interpreted largely on the basis of later sources from outside the Roman world. In particular, Karl Hauck proposes that fifth- and sixth-century bracteates display the Germanic god Odin, as described in the Icelandic Eddas that were recorded in the thirteenth century but possibly reflect Viking Age mythology.²⁴ Hauck offers a unified system of bracteate iconography based on the healing breath of the god Odin and his treatment of the injured hoof of Balder’s horse, as described in the tenth-century Old High German second Merseburg charm.²⁵ I am sceptical about applying these interpretations from later medieval sources to bracteates of the fifth and sixth centuries. Pragmatically, I caution that the bent leg supposedly signalling the injured hoof of Balder’s horse and the placement of the human’s mouth near the horse’s ear may be explained due to the constraints of design in a very small round field (Figure 1.7).²⁶ However, I also



Figure 1.6 Type D bracteate (IK 454), from Källemossan, Böja parish, Västergötland, Sweden; Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 27302; diam. 2.2 cm (photograph no. 14156 by Ulf Bruxe SHM 1993–07–16, reproduced under Creative Commons).

reject Hauck's thesis because evidence for a unified religion during the Viking Age or the earlier Migration Period is lacking, and the cycle of stories about Balder seems to have become codified only in contact with Christianity during the eleventh century.²⁷ Manifestations of religious practices during the entire Iron Age (which includes the Migration Period and the Viking Age) vary a great deal across different parts of Scandinavia, as pointed out by Fredrik Svanberg.²⁸ For these reasons, it is difficult to accept that an organised religion centred on Odin and Balder was expressed centuries earlier on bracteates.

The assumption that bracteates reflect supposedly native indigenous religion denies the hybridity of these objects and can even be considered a form of primitivism, with bracteates positioned as the exotic 'Other' outside of both the Roman pagan tradition and the normative Christianity of most of the medieval period, thus an 'authentic voice unsullied by cultural contact', as described by Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk.²⁹ Artistic syncretism has been recognised by Jane Webster in Roman provincial art of Britain, in a specifically colonial, intercultural context,³⁰ and I propose that similar hybridity also appears beyond an explicitly colonial context when Roman material culture in the form of bracteates was brought to Scandinavia. The hybrid objects that resulted are neither fully Roman nor completely Nordic, and we can imagine that they would be regarded as 'Other' by both Romans and Scandinavians.



Figure 1.7 Type C bracteate (IK 365.5) with hind leg kicked up, from Slitebacka, Othem parish, Gotland, Sweden; Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 69, diam. 2.6 cm (photograph no. 13850 by Ulf Bruze SHM 1993–08–19, reproduced under Creative Commons).

Historiographically, bracteates fall outside the bounds of what is usually included in the modern canon of early medieval art; thus they function as the ‘Other’ yet another way, which I will examine in the second part of this paper. But now let us turn to how medallions and bracteates were used, not what they ‘meant’, but rather how they functioned in society as material objects.

How medallions were used

I have proposed to examine how the significance of medallions and their imitations may have changed once these objects were brought to the North and also to investigate how their usage may have influenced that of bracteates. All of the medallions and medallion imitations found in Scandinavia were equipped with loops to be worn as pendant jewellery, a practice that is well documented for Roman coins (including medallions).³¹ The disks and their loops often reveal extensive wear, and bracteates also display heavy usage, with loops and edge rims often very worn and occasionally torn away completely. However, there was no pre-existing tradition of mounting figural images to wear as pendants around the neck in Scandinavia before the introduction of the Roman medallions with the image of the emperor.

We do not know much about how Late Roman medallions were displayed. Remains of a torque found at Dambach in Middle Franken, as reconstructed by Max Martin, may provide an example of how mounted medallions were worn.³² Pendants, including mounted medallions, were used by men, as seen on the Missorium of Theodosius made in 388 and on the famous mosaic of Justinian at San Vitale in Ravenna from 548.³³ Medallions apparently were given by *men* to other *men* to strengthen bonds of military loyalty, as known from the sixth-century example mentioned above in which Gregory of Tours reports that the Emperor Tiberius II gave medallions to the Frankish King Chilperic. These Continental examples give us a sense of the use of Roman medallions in the provinces; however, before we can consider how medallions and their imitations were used in Scandinavia, we should address how they reached non-Romanised barbarian areas.

Aleksander Bursche describes medallions and coins as imperial payments to barbarian leaders who had served in the Roman auxiliary troops.³⁴ These military men then took the prizes back to their homes beyond the provincial boundaries, even as far away as Scandinavia, in a scenario presented by Gad Rausing.³⁵ The examples found in the North were indeed symbols of the Roman Empire that explicitly displayed images of the emperor himself. Louise Revell notes that symbols of the divine leader were ubiquitous in the lives of people in the Empire, and we assume that Scandinavians who had served in the auxiliaries also understood the emblems of Roman rule.³⁶ When these soldiers came home to Scandinavia, they must have experienced what David J. Mattingly calls a ‘discrepant identity’, with their experiences in the service of the Empire marking their difference from others around them in their homeland.³⁷ Revell writes that ‘we shall never know how many people in the provinces could fully read the message and symbolism’, and certainly the number of viewers beyond the provinces who understood the emperor’s image on medallions must have been even smaller than the total within the provincial areas who could fathom what it meant.³⁸ Thus a colonial encounter could be experienced beyond the boundaries of the Empire through the use of a transported Roman object. However, medallions as emblems of empire were not slavishly copied in Scandinavia; in fact, they were adapted to northern aesthetics in the form of bracteates.³⁹ The customs associated with wearing medallions and their imitations undoubtedly changed outside the reach of Roman control of the image, yet those habits continued to influence the use of bracteates.

Our knowledge of how pendant jewellery was used in the North derives largely from the find circumstances of objects themselves as well as evidence of use. Most medallions and medallion imitations found in Scandinavia were discovered long ago either during agricultural work or in burials that were not excavated according to modern standards, so we have little information about their find contexts; however, at least one medallion and two imitations probably come from female graves, as determined by grave goods.⁴⁰ It is significant that even these few northern examples are found with women because in Late Roman context medallions were given to men and were displayed by men, as discussed above. Jutta-Annette Bruhn points out that Roman “archaeological evidence for coin jewellery worn by women is scarce,” although pictorial examples of the practice are found in Palmyra and the Fayum – notably, also in colonial circumstances.⁴¹ There must have been an alteration in the function of these overtly Roman military markers of status so that the women in Scandinavian burials could be adorned with medallions. To understand how women acquired these ornaments, we may envision that soldiers returning from their military service with

the Romans brought their military rewards home and gave them to their wives, after which female offspring may have inherited the medallion. Moreover, in northern society, women seem to have had a significant level of control over their personal and household property.⁴² Under these circumstances, it could be considered more appropriate for women, not men, to control and wear pendants. The examples of medallions buried with women in Scandinavia may be indicative of an incipient shift in the gendering of pendants that was only completed later with bracteates, which were inspired by medallions and adapted for different patrons in the north – women rather than men.

How bracteates were used

Although the majority of the fifth- and sixth-century hybrid objects known as bracteates have been discovered as casual finds or in hoards, at least 150 have been found in graves, especially in western Norway, on the Swedish island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea, and in Central Europe and Anglo-Saxon England. As we focus on these mortuary finds in our attempt to ascertain how bracteates were used, we find that these burials are consistently identified as female, whether the biological sex of these graves has been determined osteologically or the gender has been assigned by grave goods.⁴³ While it is problematic to designate gender only on the basis of grave goods, studies of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon burials have demonstrated that results from sexing by morphological analysis of skeletal material are consistent with conclusions reached by analysis of material goods, in particular, certain kinds of jewellery and spindle whorls that are associated with women.⁴⁴ Although analysis of DNA from skeletal material, as popularised in the past decade or so, might seem to solve the problem of sexing graves, bones from early medieval graves – if preserved – rarely have the excellent preservation that is required for successful scientific analysis.⁴⁵ In any case, multiple approaches point to the conclusion that bracteates were buried with women and thus we consider them ‘gendered’ female, as the process and performance of gender was concretised in the social construction of the grave with the body presented in specific ways in the mortuary context.⁴⁶

It seems most likely that women who were adorned with bracteates for their burial could also display these objects during their lives, but we do not know how or at what stage of their lives they acquired or used them. Birgit Arrhenius suggests that bracteates found in female graves were ‘morning gifts’ paid by the husband to the bride at consummation of a marriage of highborn couples; thus she assumes that bracteates were property that was transferred from men to women.⁴⁷ Anders Andrén proposes that these elite women were used to strengthen political alliances by means of exogamous marriages, while Marta Lindeberg and Charlotte Behr stress that women did not merely acquiesce passively but also facilitated alliances and wealth exchange.⁴⁸ Such prestige objects may have been passed from older women to younger women through inheritance and as markers of life stages instead of or in addition to being given by men to women as markers of gender. In this way, Scandinavian bracteates found in the graves of Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, and Continental women may be important indicators of gender, age, kinship, and diasporic patronage observed in postcolonial terms.

Yet explanations for how women obtained bracteates do not account for how the very idea of medallions worn by men was transformed into bracteates displayed by women. The Roman medallion brought into Scandinavia was an entirely new kind

of object in this region, and the bracteate, adapted from medallions, was also new. Northerners did not directly copy medallions nor did they preserve their original function; instead they adapted them. Returning military men may have adopted the Roman symbol of the emperor as a means of gaining power at home, as suggested by Martin Millet,⁴⁹ but the effect of this essentially colonialist contact was that the material culture of Roman status was transformed into something else – a hybrid – in a new setting far removed from Roman society.

Besides changing the Roman images into a Nordic visual expression, the makers of bracteates often replaced Latin inscriptions on medallions with runic characters. Bracteates are assumed to be amulets, as adduced from runic inscriptions such as ‘I give luck’ on two examples from Køge in Denmark and more enigmatic messages on other pieces (Figure 1.7).⁵⁰ Latin on medallions was adapted and eventually replaced with the Germanic runic writing on bracteates. Lisbeth Imer proposes that ‘runic inscriptions should therefore be perceived both as a contrast to the great and dominant Roman Empire, and at the same time, an imitation of the Roman’s writing ideology’.⁵¹ Migration Period bracteate inscriptions reflect a conscious appropriation of the Roman concept of writing into its northern counterpart of runes to convey the Scandinavian language. At the same time that the northerners resisted directly copying Roman images, they also rejected the letter forms of the Roman exemplars.

With bracteates, we witness inspiration, imitation, and transformation of an object type (from medallions to bracteates) through a change in imagery (from Roman to Germanic), inscriptions (from Latin to runic), and even the gendered use of objects (from men to women). Bracteates were not merely stylistic borrowings but were invented in a hybrid environment of Roman inspiration within a northern context and became an important means of expressing Scandinavian identity. As Hatt and Klonk have suggested, we need to examine ‘the ways in which objects had moved from one part of the world to another, how colonial cultures had acquired these objects’.⁵² As we consider this extra-colonial or decolonised area beyond the Roman provinces, we perceive that mechanisms of appropriation operated so that the memory of power and status associated with the Roman medallion was transferred to the new object type of the bracteate.

Postcolonialism and bracteates

I have proposed that postcolonialism provides a window for regarding the complexity of colonial and extra-colonial encounters that are revealed by the material culture of the Roman Empire and its interaction with the Germanic polytheistic North at the very beginning of the early medieval period. My case study owes a debt to the postcolonial critique that has been explicated for Late Roman archaeology⁵³ and for archaeology in general⁵⁴ but has been under-theorised for the medieval period. As an explicit call to examine how postcolonial theory might expand our approaches to medieval studies, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen makes five suggestions:

- 1 Insist on cultural and historical specificity, engaging with terms involving time,
- 2 Reexamine the genealogy of contemporary disciplinary configurations, demonstrating complex webs,
- 3 Destabilise hegemonic identities of gender, age, and religion,
- 4 Displace the domination of Christianity,
- 5 Decentre Europe and rethink the margins of Europe⁵⁵

I restate Cohen's five proposals below, elaborating upon and building upon each of them. I detail both how the investigation of bracteates can be illuminated by paying attention to his framework and also how the wider study of the early medieval period can be enriched by bringing this case study of bracteates – itself an extension of well-established Late Antique and Roman postcolonial studies – to the attention of medievalists.

1 *Insist on cultural and historical specificity, engaging with terms involving time.*

The Scandinavian Migration Period of the fifth and sixth centuries is 'betwixt and between', not really 'Late Antique' by virtue of its chronology and its geographic distance from Mediterranean culture, but also on the very boundary of what is labelled 'early medieval' in American and British usage. Although it is not truly prehistoric because of the presence of runic inscriptions, neither is it embraced as part of 'medieval' European art, which is dominated in popular imagination by illuminated manuscripts and Gothic cathedrals. In Scandinavia itself, the Migration Period (and the Viking Age) is not considered part of the medieval period, which is considered to begin only with the formation of the Christian states of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden from the eleventh century onwards. The first millennium CE in Scandinavia is considered part of the Iron Age, and the terminology for subdivisions of this time span differ from country to country, with Norway and Sweden referring to the 'Migration Period' and Denmark using the label 'Germanic Iron Age' for the same period. These various dating systems complicate our consideration of the period, but also make it clear that the period is complex and not homogeneous throughout the vast geographic expanse of Scandinavia. From a postcolonial perspective, we can critique the very arbitrariness of modern chronological labels.

2 *Reexamine the genealogy of contemporary disciplinary configurations, demonstrating complex webs.*

The main tools of bracteate studies have been typological classification initiated by archaeologists and iconographic analysis as carried out by historians and historians of religion rather than by art historians. Contesting the dominance of these conventional modes of investigation by focusing on more nuanced approaches to agency and 'peopling' bracteates may move scholars beyond the preoccupation with bracteates as passive objects suitable only for formal analysis. In addition, historians' search for one grand system or singular truth (the Hauckian Odin-Balder religion) has constrained their ability to recognise difference and has blinded them to subtleties of variation in meaning and use of objects.⁵⁶ Interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary bracteate studies have already broken down some of the boundaries between the traditional disciplines of art history, archaeology, anthropology, history, literary studies, philology and linguistic studies, and the history of religions, but these established areas of study can be further integrated (or hybridised) with the study of material culture, visual culture, and gender studies. Karl Hauck assembled a team of scholars in Münster, Germany, that examined the images and inscriptions on bracteates through the evidence of archaeology, history, literature, philology, and religion, but these investigations were for the most part multidisciplinary rather than interdisciplinary.⁵⁷ Lotte Hedeager, an archaeologist by training, crosses many disciplinary boundaries in her investigations

of the religious dimensions of bracteates and animal style art.⁵⁸ Those who seek to understand the ‘meaning’ of bracteates – as if there is only one meaning – often venture into the study of comparative Old Norse mythology and literature, some more successfully than others. But there are still many topics remaining for interdisciplinary art historians to investigate, from how bracteate imagery functioned in Nordic society that did not have a tradition of representational figurative art to the effect of the visual presentation of bracteates on the female body.

3 *Destabilise hegemonic identities of gender, age, and religion.*

The assumption that male use of Scandinavian bracteates was primary simply because we have documentation that certain men gave other men Roman medallions must be displaced. Age-ranks should also be considered as important categories when we examine women’s connection with bracteates.⁵⁹ Finally, we must acknowledge that there was not one coherent dogmatic pagan religion in the North during the Migration Period or the Viking Age, as discussed above.⁶⁰ The polytheistic ‘Other’ in early medieval Scandinavia presents us with ambiguities that are difficult to grasp in the context of Continental Christianity and require a more refined understanding of the experience of hybridity and alterity.⁶¹ Postcolonial approaches to religious syncretism in the Roman provinces, such as the studies by Jane Webster, may provide better models for the early medieval North than comparisons to later medieval periods.⁶²

4 *Displace the domination of Christianity.*

To bring Scandinavian Migration Period art into the fold of the master narrative of European medieval art history, we must abandon the assumption that all medieval art is necessarily Christian art. As Cohen suggests, we must jettison the ‘progress narratives’ of pre-Christian art, which appear to assume that everything in these cultures is reaching inexorably toward the teleological ‘triumph of Christianity’.⁶³ Recent studies of multicultural Spain offer some models for moving beyond the Christian master narrative, yet do not take us outside the Abrahamic traditions.⁶⁴ While Jewish and Islamic examples have been to some degree incorporated into recent relatively inclusive surveys of medieval art, pagan Nordic polytheistic or animistic art has received only negligible attention in Anglophone art history.

5 *Decentre Europe and rethink the margins of Europe.*

Cohen proposes that the ‘supposed margins of Europe must be rethought’ and suggests examining ‘peripheral’ geographies including Wales, Ireland, and several other regions.⁶⁵ The study of medieval art has focused on the Mediterranean and southern European areas, including France. Even the British Isles are not really peripheral in early medieval art since Anglo-Saxon and Hiberno-Saxon art are recognised as part of the standard canon. Scandinavia, however, stands marginalised well beyond the map that Cohen recognises, even though its ties to the South can be elucidated through fifth and sixth-century gold bracteates that reveal emulation and memory of the Roman Empire. In addition, the Vikings were impressive colonisers across the North Sea and deep into Slavic territories from the ninth through the eleventh centuries. However, even these colonial intersections with the rest of Europe should not be allowed to

overshadow the various cultures of the North on their own terms. Also not to be forgotten are the Sámi (Saami) non-Indo-European cultures of northern Scandinavia that occupy the very margins of Europe, even more peripheral than the examples that Cohen mentions.⁶⁶

A research programme that follows this framework will challenge the assumptions behind the supposed knowledge base of early medieval history and open up a broader consideration of European early medieval art. Fredrik Svanberg has ‘decolonised’ the Viking Age as a system of knowledge at the close of the early medieval period in Scandinavia.⁶⁷ Similarly, the beginning of this art historical period can build upon the ground-breaking theoretical work in postcolonial Late Roman art and archaeology, as in this study of Roman medallions and Scandinavian bracteates.

Concluding remarks

I have offered a case study that begins with Roman medallions that were produced within the Roman Empire but were physically removed from their place of origin and received into another cultural sphere. A Roman medallion used and seen within the Empire must have meant something quite different from one in Scandinavia. Medallion imitations, on the other hand, were from the moment of their creation cultural hybrids that transformed the idea of a Roman object into something that is neither fully Roman nor fully Scandinavian. Artists in contact zones beyond the Roman frontier re-interpreted the imagery and inscriptions of medallions and produced objects that were not merely imitated or blended but instead hybridised or ‘creolized’, to use Jane Webster’s term.⁶⁸

Results from the process of hybridisation may be seen on two medallion imitations from Tunalund (Figure 1.8) and Åk where toga folds and a fibula on the bust of an emperor, as depicted on medallions, were re-created as an apparently dead bird below the man’s head.⁶⁹ This substitution, which may seem risible to us, should not be considered a failed copy of the neck folds of a toga but rather a creative solution to a problem. The Roman aesthetic convention of using lines to represent three-dimensional space on a nearly flat surface was adapted by the northern artist into a composition that should be seen within the context of transformative animal/human relationships – perhaps relating to shamanism – that are displayed in Scandinavian animal art.⁷⁰ Sarah Scott warns us not to see Roman provincial art ‘as a poor imitation of traditional classical forms, demonstrating a lack of skill or understanding on the part of the artist or patron’.⁷¹ In this same vein, we should not dismiss these strange works with birds substituted for togas as examples of bumbling ineptitude. We should reject the colonialist idea that Scandinavians were unskilled artists who eagerly absorbed Roman culture but utterly failed to meet classical standards. On the contrary, visual ambiguities such as the ‘dead bird’ motif may reflect the complexities of hybrid intercultural contacts, where Roman medallions were alluring but unsatisfying for northerners who internalised them and improved upon them by making bracteates that addressed an indigenous need for a certain kind of figural/animal representation.

The ‘dead bird’ motif on the medallion imitations achieves a monstrous quality that evokes the strangeness that we in the postmodern world often perceive in the medieval, as Cohen has addressed.⁷² The abstract animal representations on medallion imitations and Migration Period bracteates may also be considered grotesque from the standpoint of anticipated classical/Renaissance aesthetics. Karen Overbey refers to ‘the



Figure 1.8 Medallion imitation with bird below bust of man (IK 193), from Tunalund, Uppland, Sweden; Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, inv. no. 420; diam. 3.8 cm (photograph no. 21999 by Ulf Bruxe SHM 1999–12–02, reproduced under Creative Commons).

colonizing of the medieval by the modern’, which occurs when viewers are unable or unwilling to consider early medieval art such as bracteates from outside the lens of the present.⁷³ Bracteates are curiously ‘Other’, outside the geographic, temporal, and religious boundaries of the canon of medieval art. They reflect the transformation of an aesthetic language in a contact zone of dialogue between Mediterranean and northern, Late Antique and medieval, and pagan and Christian. Seen from the perspective of postcolonialism, bracteate studies can move beyond the previously dominant agendas of typological classification and iconographical attribution to decolonise the rich complexities of the encounter between Imperial Roman culture and the Northern frontier.

Notes

* “Bilder i Sök i samlingarna är, om inte annat anges, licensierade för icke-kommersiell användning som kopiering, distribution och visning med en Creative Commons-licens. På bildens sida länkas till gällande licens och där kan du se detaljer kring licensen och hur du får använda bilden. Du har rätt att kostnadsfritt använda bilden för icke-kommersiellt bruk enligt licensen om du anger fotograf/upphovsman, källa (“Historiska museet” eller “SHM”).”

1 Caroline Petersson, ‘In Things We Trust: Hybridity and the Borders of Categorization in Archaeology’, *Current Swedish Archaeology* 19 (2011), 167–81, at 169.

2 Matthew Liebmann, ‘Introduction: The Intersections of Archaeology and Postcolonial Studies’, in *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*, ed. Matthew Liebmann and Uzma Z. Rizvi (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2008), 1–20, at 5.

- 3 In a related study, I focus on differentiating the technology, iconography, inscriptions and functions of medallions and bracteates; however, in that work I do not explicitly connect the material to postcolonial studies. See Nancy L. Wicker, 'Inspiring the Barbarians? The Transformation from Roman Medallions to Scandinavian Bracteates', in *Rome Beyond Its Frontiers: Imports, Attitudes and Practices*, ed. Peter S. Wells, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 94 (Portsmouth, RI: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 2013), 105–20.
- 4 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Midcolonial', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 1–17, at 6.
- 5 I have investigated this more thoroughly in Nancy L. Wicker, 'Would There Have Been Gothic Art Without the Vikings? The Contribution of Scandinavian Medieval Art', *Medieval Encounters* 17 (2011), 198–229.
- 6 For instance, Sture Bolin, *Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien: Studier i romersk och äldre germansk historia* (Lund: Skånska centraltryckeriet, 1926); Hans Jürgen Eggers, *Der römische Import im freien Germanien*, *Atlas der Urgeschichte* 1 (Hamburg: Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, 1951); and Ulla Lund Hansen, *Römischer Import in Norden: Warenaustausch zwischen dem Römischen Reich und dem freien Germanien während der Kaiserzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Nordeuropas*, *Nordiske Fordtidsminder* B:10 (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige nordiske Oldskriftselskab, 1987).
- 7 Fredrik Ekengren, *Ritualization – Hybridization – Fragmentation: The Mutability of Roman Vessels in Germania Magna A.D. 1–400* *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia*, Series in Prima Quarto 28 (Lund: University of Lund, 2009).
- 8 Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, *Numismatic Studies* 5 (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1944).
- 9 Six are published by Mogens B. Mackeprang, *De nordiske guldbrakteater*, *Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter* 2 (Århus: Universitets-forlaget, 1952), 106–7, nos. 1–6, and the seventh by Anne Kromann, 'Die römischen Münzen von Gudme', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 21 (1987), 61–73.
- 10 Book 6, Chapter 2, in Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, ed. and trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974).
- 11 Aleksander Bursche, 'Die Römische Goldmedaille in der Spätantike', in *Barbarenschmuck und Römergold: Der Schatz von Szilágysomlyó*, ed. Wilfried Seipel (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1999), 39–53; and Aleksander Bursche, 'Roman Gold Medallions as Power Symbols of the Germanic Elite', in *Roman Gold and the Development of the Early Germanic Kingdoms*, ed. Bente Magnus, *KVHAA Konferenser* 51 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2001), 83–102. See also Valerie A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), for how medallions were used within the Roman Empire and the provinces.
- 12 The medallions and medallion imitations found in Scandinavia through 1950 are conveniently presented by Mackeprang, with the medallions as catalogue numbers 1–6 and the imitation medallions as numbers 7–17. Two more recent finds are listed by Morten Axboe, 'The Scandinavian Gold Bracteates: Studies on Their Manufacture and Regional Variations', *Acta Archaeologica* 52 (1981), 61–3, as numbers 12a and 12c. The medallion imitations (but not the medallions) are also included in the six-volume catalogue of bracteates organised by Karl Hauck (Morten Axboe, Urs Clavedetscher, Klaus Düwel, Karl Hauck, Lutz von Padberg, *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit* 1,2, *Ikongraphischer Katalog (IK 1, Text)*, *Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften* 24/1,2, (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1985); Morten Axboe, Klaus Düwel, Karl Hauck, Lutz von Padberg, Cajus Wypior, *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit* 2,1, *Ikongraphischer Katalog (IK 2, Text)*, *Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften* 24/2,1 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1986); Morten Axboe, Klaus Düwel, Karl Hauck, Lutz von Padberg, Heike Rulffs, *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit* 3,1, *Ikongraphischer Katalog (IK 3, Text)*, *Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften* 24/3,1 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1989); Karl Hauck, ed., *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit* 1,3, *Ikongraphischer Katalog (IK 1, Tafeln)*, *Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften* 24/1,3 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1985); Karl Hauck, ed., *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit* 2,1, *Ikongraphischer Katalog (IK 2, Tafeln)*, *Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften* 24/2,2

- (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1986); Karl Hauck, ed., *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit* 3,2. *Ikongraphischer Katalog* (IK 3, *Tafeln*), Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften 24/3,2 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1989), with catalogue numbers hereafter cited as “IK” for *Ikongraphische Katalog*.
- 13 Godøy, Sunnmøre, Norway (IK 256), presented by Morten Axboe, ‘The Scandinavian Gold Bracteates: Studies on Their Manufacture and Regional Variations’, *Acta Archaeologica* 52 (1981), 1–87, at 61 (no. 12a), and Åk, Møre, Norway (IK 3), listed by Åsa Dahlin Hauken, *The Westland Cauldrons in Norway*, AmS-Skrifter 19 (Stavanger: Arkeologisk Museum, 2005), 89.
 - 14 The total number of bracteates at the end of 2010 was 1003, according to Wilhelm Heizmann and Morten Axboe, eds, *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit – Auswertung und Neufunde*, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 40 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 902.
 - 15 Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 238.
 - 16 Fifteen hoards with solidi are listed by Morten Axboe, *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit – Herstellungsprobleme und Chronologie*, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 38 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), 321–6.
 - 17 Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, ‘Om guldbrakeaterne’, *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1855), 265–327.
 - 18 Oscar Montelius, *Från jernaldern* (Stockholm: n.p., 1869); and Oscar Montelius, ‘Den nordiska jernalderns kronologi. III. 6. Jernalderns sjette period’, *Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift* (1900), 80.
 - 19 Bernhard Salin, *Die altermanische Thierornamentik* (Stockholm: n.p., 1904).
 - 20 Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk, *Art History: A Critical Introduction to Its Methods* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 225.
 - 21 Fredrik Svanberg, *Decolonizing the Viking Age 1*, Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in Octavo 43 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003), 48 and 52.
 - 22 Mats Malmer, *Metodproblem inom järnålderns konsthistoria*, Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in Octavo 3 (Lund: Gleerup 1963), 79. ‘Emic’ and ‘etic’ derive from linguistic anthropology; see Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer, eds, *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1996), 180–3.
 - 23 Nancy L. Wicker, ‘Situating Scandinavian Migration Period Bracteates: From Typology and Iconography to Gender, Agency, and Visual Culture’, in *Situating Gender in European Archaeologies*, ed. Liv Helga Dommasnes, et al., Archaeolingua Series Minor 29 (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2010), 67–71.
 - 24 Karl Hauck, Morten Axboe, Klaus Düwel, Lutz von Padberg, Ulrike Smyra, Cajus Wypior, *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit* 1,1. Einleitung. Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften 24/1,1 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1985). Besides organising the IK corpus, Karl Hauck wrote a series of over sixty parts of *Zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten* scattered across many journals, festschriften, and proceedings. For a summary, see Wilhelm Heizmann, ‘Gold, Macht, Kult: Karl Haucks Studien zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 41 (2007), 11–23.
 - 25 Karl Hauck, ‘Neue Windgott-Amulette (Zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten 1)’, in *Festschrift für Herman Heimpel*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Plancks-Instituts für Geschichte 36:3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 627–60; and Karl Hauck, ‘Gott als Arzt: Eine exemplarische Skizze mit Text- und Bildzeugnissen aus drei verschiedenen Religionen zu Phänomenon und Gebärden der Heilung (Zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten 16)’, in *Text und Bild: Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Christel Meier and Uwe Ruberg (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980), 19–62.
 - 26 Nancy L. Wicker, ‘The Scandinavian Animal Styles in Response to Mediterranean and Christian Narrative Art’, in *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, A.D. 300–1300*, ed. Martin Carver (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 531–50, at 536.
 - 27 Thomas A. DuBois, *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 42.
 - 28 Svanberg, *Decolonizing the Viking Age 1*, 102.
 - 29 Hatt and Klonk, *Art History*, discuss such ‘primitivism’, 237.

- 30 Jane Webster, 'Necessary Comparisons: A Post-Colonial Approach to Religious Syncretism in the Roman Provinces', *World Archaeology* 28 (1997), 324–38, at 331; and Jane Webster, 'Art as Resistance and Negotiation', in *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, ed. Sarah Scott and Jane Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 24–51, at 28.
- 31 Jutta-Annette Bruhn, *Coins and Costume in Late Antiquity*, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications 9 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993).
- 32 Max Martin, '24 Scheiben aus Goldblech und 17 goldene Medaillons: Eine "Gleichung" mit vielen Unbekannten', in *Barbarenschmuck und Römergold: Der Schatz von Szilágysomlyó*, ed. Wilfried Seipel (Vienna: Kunsthistorische Museum, 1999), 113–19.
- 33 The Missorium was probably made in Constantinople in 388 for the tenth year of the reign of Theodosius I; see John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 2nd edition, The Pelican History of Art (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 77. The mosaic at San Vitale dates to c. 547–548; see Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 114. Maxfield interprets the objects hanging from the soldiers' torques at San Vitale as jewelled or enamelled disks rather than medallions (*The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*, 253).
- 34 Bursche, 'Die Römische Goldmedaille in der Spätantike', and Bursche, 'Roman Gold Medallions as Power Symbols of the Germanic Élite'.
- 35 Gad Rausing, 'Barbarian Mercenaries or Roman Citizens?' *Fornvännen* 82 (1987), 126–32.
- 36 Louise Revell, *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 82.
- 37 David J. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 213–18.
- 38 Revell, *Roman Imperialism*, 83.
- 39 Compare Jane Webster, 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces', *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2001), 209–25, at 215.
- 40 Kent Andersson, *Romartida guldsmide i Norden III: Övriga smycken, teknisk analys och verkstadsgrupper*, Aun 23 (Uppsala: Societas Archaeologica Upsaliensis, 1995), 44–6.
- 41 Bruhn, *Coins and Costume in Late Antiquity*, 30–1.
- 42 It has often been assumed that Viking Age women were in control of the household keys and thus the storeroom. See Judith Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), 25, for an example of the assumption that a grave with keys is female, but compare Jenny Jochens, *Women in Old Norse Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 132–3. For earlier periods, there is less evidence for the status of the women.
- 43 Märit Gaimster, 'Gold Bracteates and Necklaces: Political Ideals in the Sixth Century', in *Roman Gold and the Development of the Early Germanic Kingdoms*, ed. Bente Magnus, KVHAA Konferens 51 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2001), 143–56; and Nancy L. Wicker, 'Display of Scandinavian Migration Period Bracteates and Other Pendant Jewelry as a Reflection of Prestige and Identity', in *De Re Metallica: The Uses of Metal in the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert Bork, AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art 4 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 49–61.
- 44 For a general discussion of the issues at hand, see Bettina Arnold and Nancy L. Wicker, eds, *Gender and the Archaeology of Death* (Walnut Creek CA: AltaMira Press, 2001). For comparisons of sexing according to grave goods and skeletal material, see Liv Helga Dommasnes, 'Late Iron Age in Western Norway: Female Roles and Ranks as Deduced from an Analysis of Burial Customs', *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 15 (1982), 70–84, and Karen Brush, 'Gender and Mortuary Analysis in Pagan Anglo-Saxon Archaeology', *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 7 (1988), 76–89. However, skeletal analysis is not without problems; see Bettina Arnold, 'Gender and Archaeological Mortuary Analysis', in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2006), 137–70, at 143–4.
- 45 Connie J. Mulligan, 'Anthropological Applications of Ancient DNA: Problems and Prospects', *American Antiquity* 71 (2006), 365–80.
- 46 Arnold, 'Gender and Archaeological Mortuary Analysis', 140–1.
- 47 Birgit Arrhenius, 'Women and Gold: On the Role of Women in Society at the Time of the Great Migrations and Their Relationship to the Production and Distribution of Ornaments', in *Produksjon og samfunn: Beretning fra 2. Nordiske jernaldesymposium på*

Granavolden 7.–10. Mai 1992, ed. Heid Gjøstein Resi (Oslo: Universitetets Oldsaksamling, 1995), 85–96.

- 48 Anders Andrén, 'Guld och makt—en tolkning av de skandinaviska guldrakteaternas funktion', in *Samfundsorganisation og regional variation: Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid*, ed. Charlotte Fabeck and Jytte Ringtved, Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter 27 (Århus: Jysk arkologisk selskab, 1991), 245–56; Marta Lindeberg, 'Gold, Gods and Women', *Current Swedish Archaeology* 5 (1997), 99–110; and Charlotte Behr, 'Do Bracteates Identify Influential Women in Early Medieval Kingdoms?' in *Kingdoms and Regionality: Transactions from the 49th Sachsensymposium 1998 in Uppsala*, ed. Birgit Arrhenius, Theses and Papers in Archaeology B:6 (Stockholm: Archaeological Research Laboratory, Stockholm University, 2001), 95–101.
- 49 Martin Millet, *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 213–14.
- 50 From Køge, Zealand, Denmark, IK 98.
- 51 Lisbeth Imer, 'Latin og græsk i romersk jernalder – fremmed indflydelse på Nordens tidligste runeskrift', *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (2004), 63–105, at 81, and translation, 105.
- 52 Hatt and Klonk, *Art History*, 231.
- 53 For instance, David J. Mattingly, ed., *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 23 (Portsmouth, RI: JRA, 1997); Scott and Webster, eds, *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*; and Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman*.
- 54 Michael Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Chris Gosden, 'Postcolonial Archaeology: Issues of Culture, Identity, and Knowledge', in *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed. Ian Hodder (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 241–61; Chris Gosden, *Archaeology and Colonialism: Cultural Contact from 5000 BC to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Matthew Liebmann and Uzma Z. Rizvi, eds, *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique* (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira, 2008); and Peter van Dommelen, 'Colonial Constructs: Colonialism and Archaeology in the Mediterranean', *World Archaeology* 28 (1996), 305–23.
- 55 Cohen, *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, 6–7.
- 56 For a critique of the Hauckian project, see the critical review of the last volume of the bracteate corpus by Nancy L. Wicker and Henrik Williams, 'Bracteates and Runes', *Futhark: International Journal of Runic Studies* 3, 2012 (2013), 151–213.
- 57 For the distinction between 'multidisciplinary' and 'interdisciplinary', see Nancy L. Wicker, 'Archaeology and Art History: Common Ground for the New Millennium', *Medieval Archaeology* 43 (1999), 161–71, at 169.
- 58 Lotte Hedeager, *Skygger af en anden virkelighed: Oldnordiske myter* (Copenhagen: Samleren, 1997); and Hedeager, 'Dyr og andre mennesker – mennesker og andre dyr', in *Ordning mot Kaos: Studier av nordisk förkristen kosmologi*, ed. Anders Andrén et al. (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2004), 219–52.
- 59 See Susanne Thedéen, 'Who's That Girl? The Cultural Construction of Girlhood and the Transition to Womanhood in Viking Age Gotland', *Childhood in the Past* 1 (2008), 78–93, for a consideration of age-ranks during the Viking Age.
- 60 See DuBois, *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age*, 42; and Svanberg, *Decolonizing the Viking Age* 1, 102.
- 61 The concept of 'alterity' implies the 'Other'. See the discussion by Nina Rowe, 'Other', in *Medieval Art History Today: Critical Terms*, ed. Nina Rowe, special issue, *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), especially 131–3.
- 62 Webster, 'Necessary Comparisons'.
- 63 Cohen, 'Midcolonial', 7.
- 64 For instance, Jerrilynn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Chris Lowney, *A Vanished World: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); and María Rosa Menocal, *Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (New York: Little Brown, 2002).

- 65 Cohen, 'Midcolonial', 7.
- 66 Carl-Gösta Ojala, *Sámi Prehistories: The Politics of Archaeology and Identity in Northernmost Europe*, Occasional Papers in Archaeology 47 (Uppsala: Institutionen för Arkeologi och anti historia Uppsala Universitet, 2009).
- 67 Svanberg, *Decolonizing the Viking Age* 1, 202.
- 68 Webster, 'Art as Resistance and Negotiation', 25.
- 69 Bracteates from Tunalund, Uppland, Sweden (IK 193) and Åk, Møre, Norway (IK 3).
- 70 Siv Kristoffersen, 'Half Beast-Half Man: Hybrid Figures in Animal Art', *World Archaeology* 42 (2010), 261–72; and Lotte Hedeager, 'Dyr og andre mennesker – mennesker og andre dyr'. In her earlier works, Hedeager connected bracteates to shamanism, *Skygger af en anden virkelighed*, 105–19.
- 71 Sarah Scott, 'Provincial Art and Roman Imperialism', in *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, ed. Scott and Webster, 4.
- 72 See Cohen, 'Midcolonial', 5.
- 73 Karen Overbey, 'Postcolonial', in *Medieval Art History Today: Critical Terms, Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), special issue, ed. Nina Rowe, 145–56, at 147.

2 The Franks Casket speaks back

The bones of the past, the becoming of England

Catherine E. Karkov

Introduction

The Franks Casket is a small (22.9 x 19 x 10.9 centimetres / 9 x 7.5 x 5.1 inches) box made from the jawbone of a whale,¹ probably in Northumbria or at least by a Northumbrian artist, possibly at the monastic site of Whitby, or that of Jarrow, or that of Ripon, most likely in the first half of the eighth century (Figures 2.1–2.5).² The Franks Casket is a thing, but what sort of a thing is it? It is a box, a casket, a composition of whalebone panels, a gathering, a carving, a sculpture, bone, body, whale.³ Its ambiguous nature is central to its meaning and message. Much speculation has been devoted to what the casket might originally have contained, and certainly its contents, whatever they may have been, would have had an impact on our understanding of the casket and the stories it tells. Based on its size and iconography it may have been a jewel box (so many of its stories revolve around treasure); it may have held a book (books tell stories), bone protecting skin; it may have held a relic, living bone enclosing living relic, the absent made present here in this place. It might also have been a gift, the product of an act of devotion, a commodity, plunder.⁴ Its composition is easier to explain. With the exception of the lid, the design of each panel is similar: a narrative scene or scenes surrounded by a lengthy identifying inscription with additional labels sometimes provided for individual events or figures. The lid has been damaged so that only one panel carved with a battle scene involving a figure labelled ‘Ægili’ (Egil) survives, but it is possible that a lengthy inscription was once carved on the missing portions. The similarities in design suggest that the narratives are meant to be read in conjunction with each other. The inscriptions are carved in a variety of orientations, an arrangement that both draws attention to their difficult and puzzling nature, and draws the viewer/reader into a physical relationship with the casket that helps to bridge the past and elsewhere of which the casket speaks with the here and now of the viewer. We sometimes have to pick it up, turn it or our heads upside down, and so forth to make out just what is being said.

This essay has two purposes. First, it will explore the casket as a postcolonial space in which a series of appropriated narratives tell a story about the coming into being of Anglo-Saxon England.⁵ Second, it will consider the role of the casket’s materials and materiality in creating that space. The casket tells stories of home and of exile. It is itself an exile, made from the bones of a whale stranded on the island’s shore. One of the Old English descriptions of the whale is as an *ealond/unlond* (literally island/unland),⁶ an un-land that is now on this island. Land and water, there and here, past



Figure 2.1 Franks Casket, front panel (British Museum, London, Inv. No. 1867,0120.1) (reproduced by permission of The British Museum).



Figure 2.2 Franks Casket, lid (reproduced by permission of The British Museum).



Figure 2.3 Franks Casket, right panel (reproduced by permission of The British Museum).



Figure 2.4 Franks Casket, back panel (reproduced by permission of The British Museum).



Figure 2.5 Franks Casket, left panel (reproduced by permission of The British Museum).

and present are united in the place and space of the casket. It is and it creates a 'third space' in Homi Bhabha's sense of the term. For Bhabha, the third space was in many ways paradigmatic of the life of exile. It could take the form of a doubling, the attempt to replicate the space of the homeland in the place of exile, to bring the there into the here and the past into the now, always an impossibility as the two can never be the same. The third space thus becomes a space of liminal anxiety, neither one place nor the other, a space divided against itself.⁷ For the Anglo-Saxons this was a complex hybrid space that looked back to doubled homelands, both real and imagined, and the Franks Casket creates a space in which stories and customs of and from those homelands, the 'Germanic' and the 'Roman', confront, echo, and rub up against each other.

Language and translation are crucial to the creation of this space – the Old English and Latin languages, the runic and Roman alphabets, and the translation (or lack thereof) between the verbal and the visual. Translation can also be understood as the 'transfer of language, culture and power', an act which in and of itself creates a third space. In this case, the power of the Roman Church and Empire translated into Anglo-Saxon England as part of a new Christian empire, and a mythic Germanic past translated into Roman history to create the story of a conquering chosen people. The deployment of multiple languages and alphabets into the voice of the casket maps the history about which it speaks. Translation, like the casket itself, gathers together or unites texts and cultures at the same time that it emphasises their eternally separate natures, their differences, the gaps between peoples and places.⁸ The casket thus acts

as a bridge that both spans and unites the actual and historical spaces from and in which its stories speak. As such, a Heideggerian framework is useful in figuring the casket as a postcolonial thing – a bridge, a gathering, a *ding*.⁹

Exile

In order for places to be bridged or peoples to be gathered they must first be separate, and stories of exile are central to the creation of a new postcolonial space by both the casket, and the Anglo-Saxons more generally. As noted above, the casket is itself an exile, the remains of a whale that crossed the sea to be washed up on Anglo-Saxon land. From the beginning, the Anglo-Saxons were keenly aware of their own status as exiles. In his *De excidio britannie*, written in the late fifth or early sixth century, the monk Gildas described the coming of the Angles and Saxons to Britain in their warships, and the remoteness of the island in which they settled.¹⁰ While Gildas also made it clear that the Anglo-Saxons did travel back and forth between the island and the continent, the myth became one of exile without return. In the eighth century the monk-historian Bede also recounted the arrival of the conquering ‘Germanic’ peoples (*Germaniae*), famously dividing them into the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, and stating that *Angulus*, the homeland of the Angles, remained uninhabited at the time that he wrote in the early eighth century.¹¹ In this story there was no return. Bede’s phrasing makes it clear that the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Franks and others who settled on the island of Britain did have a conception of themselves as ‘Germanic’ peoples, but the word itself is Roman, not Germanic, and to the Romans ‘Germanic’ was a blanket term for all the so called barbaric (non-Roman) peoples who had settled east of the Rhine.¹² It also included the Goths, the Vandals, the Geats and others. In the eighth century the Anglo-Saxons may well have remained aware of the names of these various peoples, but the exact locations of their homelands would by this time have been imagined at best. Bede, for example, imagined it as at least partially deserted. As Nicholas Howe, amongst others, has shown, for Anglo-Saxon authors from Bede through to the eleventh century, the Germanic homelands were ‘less a region to be mapped than ... one to be evoked’, a setting for myth and story that ‘transformed the past into a territory’.¹³ History became location, and the histories told by the casket are relocated into the new place of exile. The idea of a mass migration, a type of biblical exodus, was based initially on the writings of Gildas and Bede,¹⁴ and was itself a myth as the journeys of these peoples and their settlement in England were processes that took place gradually over the centuries. Nevertheless, the myth persisted and much of Old English poetry is concerned with tales of migration and the appropriation of land.¹⁵ The Anglo-Saxons were exiles in a new promised land. They had crossed the North Sea just as the Israelites had crossed the Red Sea,¹⁶ and the sea remained important to Anglo-Saxon identity. *Ealond* (or *iglond*), the Old English word for island, is ‘a compound combining water (*ea*) and land (*land/lond*)’, and thus a word that would have resonated very differently in the mind of an Anglo-Saxon than it does in our minds today.¹⁷ The sea also remained the only firm geographical frontier for the island’s inhabitants.¹⁸ It was the path of exile as well as a barrier that any new invader would have to cross. It offered freedom and protection, yet it could also carry a threat.

Anglo-Saxon appropriation of the exodus myth set the Germanic alongside the biblical and ensured that the biblical homelands of the Israelites also became imaginary homelands for the Anglo-Saxons, and doubly so, as they were the birthplace of the

Christian Roman church brought north across the sea to the island by Augustine, who himself became an exile in this new land. For Bede, the ‘Germanic’ peoples who had settled in Britain were deserving of Augustine’s conversion precisely because of their exodus. As Howe notes, it was Augustine’s mission that allowed Bede to join ‘Germanic and Christian history’,¹⁹ just as it was the larger Christian mission that allowed for the recuperation of an imperial vision by the Roman church.²⁰ The Anglo-Saxon church was born of this double exile, that of the Anglo-Saxons and that of Augustine. There were other exiles too whose stories are alternately evoked and silenced by the narratives of the Franks Casket: the imperial Romans now absent from Britain (although the ruins of Roman Britain remained visible across the land), and the Britons themselves who, according to Bede, were originally exiles from Armorica,²¹ and who were now either exiled or conquered and colonised by the Anglo-Saxons. The Britons were the Other against whom the Anglo-Saxons would construct their identity prior to the Viking Age, and the absence of the Britons haunts the Franks Casket – though perhaps they are there, hidden within the ambiguities of the Hos panel (Figure 2.3).

Bridge

The bridge gathers together lands and geographies, and in doing so creates ‘location’, creates a new space for dwelling in.²² Anglo-Saxon England was a hyphenated, a new and hybrid, place. Linguistically, the hyphen is a bridge uniting or gathering together the originally different peoples, the Angles, the Saxons, the Jutes and others into one common hybrid people, just as the casket gathers them together visually. But the hyphen, and indeed the divided and opposing panels of the casket, also serve as signs of that original difference or otherness that remain as a trace within the incipient nation. For Heidegger, the bridge gathered together earth, sky, divinities and mortals. While the casket’s makers clearly had not read Heidegger, the casket *does* gather together land and water (*ea*, *lond*, *unlond*), the human and the divine, history and myth, and relocates them in a new Anglo-Saxon place. Its multiple narratives tell stories that are sometimes identifiable, like the story of Weland the Smith (Figure 2.1), and sometimes not, like the mysterious tale of Hos and the sorrow mound on the side panel that remains in the Museo del Bargello in Florence.

When gathered together the panels compose larger narratives of virginity and rape, evil and heroism, life and death, brotherhood and betrayal, danger and redemption, defence and victory, exile, civilisation and wilderness, treasure and its loss, the conquerors and the conquered, land, empire, nation, and so forth. In telling these stories the casket breaks down the relationship between subject and object by forcing us into dialogue with it. Not only do we engage in narration through the act of reading, but in many instances the casket tells us only part of a story, and we have to tell ourselves the rest; it gives us a riddle, and we have to supply the answer. For an Anglo-Saxon reader this would have meant that these stories that were so much a part of the creation of England were constantly retold and kept alive, and also that the peoples who made up England were constantly being gathered together anew each time the casket was viewed. The past brought into the present, the there into the here and now. The hybridity of the country was mirrored in the hybridity of the box. These narrative strategies – the juxtaposition of past and present, the incessant remembering – would continue as a feature of both Anglo-Saxon poetry and prose. *The Battle of Brunanburh*, for example, places memories of migration alongside those of the recent and

successful battle as a means of uniting appropriation with defence of the land by God's chosen people.²³

So what stories does the casket gather together? For which peoples and places does it serve as a bridge? The scenes on the casket are divided equally between the Anglo-Saxons' imagined homelands so that three are devoted to stories from 'Germanic' legend, and three to stories from the history of Rome and the Roman Church. They are all accompanied by inscriptions: some in Latin, some in Old English, some in the Roman alphabet, and some in runes (both conventional and encoded). These stories from separate and very different peoples and traditions are appropriated and retold by this polyglot Anglo-Saxon object, and in that retelling they are translated into Anglo-Saxon stories. They are also troubled narratives. They do *not* create a place of peace or harmony.

Most discussions of the casket will start with the front panel (Figure 2.1) because common sense tells us that that is the place that anyone opening the casket would start, but really one could just as easily make the same claims about the lid, since anyone carrying the casket would actually see this panel first. Time on the casket is not linear, however, so ultimately there is no 'correct' sequence in which the panels should be viewed or read. I'll start conventionally enough with the front panel. On the left is a scene from the story of Weland the Smith in which the hamstrung Weland, exiled and imprisoned at King Nithhad's court, is in the process of making a cup from the skull of one of the king's sons before raping his daughter, Beaduhild (who subsequently gives birth to the hero Widia),²⁴ and flying away on wings made from ducks' feathers. On the right the three magi (labelled *MFXL*, 'mægi')²⁵ accompanied by a duck present their gifts to the enthroned Virgin and Child. The scene takes place in Bethlehem, the 'house of bread',²⁶ a location that reminds us that Christ's body will be broken and consumed as was that of the prince – or the whale from whose bones the casket was made – a meaning that is brought out with particular effect on the casket by the way in which Christ's body is encircled by the Virgin as if presented on a Eucharistic paten. An Old English poetic inscription carved in runes surrounds the two scenes emphasising that they are all meant to be read together, though the exact connections between images and inscription remain ambiguous. The inscription presents the reader with a prosopopeiac text that borrows from the convention of textual riddles, but goes far beyond those riddles in its play with materiality. Assuming that we begin reading at upper left, the inscription states:

fisc flodu ahof on fergenberig
warþ gasric grorn þær he ongreot giswom
hronæsban

(The fish beat up the seas [or rose by means of the sea] onto the mountainous cliff [or burial place]; gasric became sad when he swam aground onto the shingle. Whale's bone.)²⁷

Sea, land, and the bridge between the two. The casket states in no uncertain terms that the whale has crossed the sea and is in exile, his bones literally bridging the two elements as well as the world of nature and that of humankind. 'Gasric' is usually translated as 'king of terror', but it has also been proposed that it is the name of the whale, meaning something like 'the one strong in life or power'.²⁸ The section of the

verse referring to gasric the 'king of terror' (or one strong in life/power) reads retrograde along the bottom of the panel, clearly emphasising the reversal of the whale's fortune, and the words 'whale's bone', not part of the verse inscription, are carved along the left edge of the panel next to the scene of Weland the Smith. Whether we read 'gasric' as the actual name of the whale or not, the phrase 'king of terror' (or one strong in life/power) does effectively serve to name the whale via its identification with terror, life or power, so that the casket itself, like so many of the figures depicted on it, has a named identity, drawing attention to its existence as both historical being and thing. Past becomes location. The identification of the living material from which the casket is made is also placed alongside the panel depicting the manufacture of a different type of container from the bone (the skull) of what was once a living being (the prince). Inscription and panel riddle on the shift from being to becoming, from free living creature to captive precious possession. The arrangement of the words 'whale's bone' (*hronæs ban*) identifies the casket's origins and helps to establish its materiality alongside a panel filled with things (tongs, cup, birds, feathers) that are busy transforming or being transformed. The juxtaposition of the two makes clear that there is a connection between the casket's history and materiality and the stories it tells. Its material is thus essential to its function as bridge, as will be explored further below. But the words *hronæs ban* can also be read as stranded or cast up, again like the whale itself, exiled from its home in the sea, cut up and carved, just as Weland has been exiled, captured and cut.

This panel, indeed the casket as a whole presents us with multiple narratives of transformation that map but do not explain the becoming of the casket, the movement from whale to box, as well as the coming into being of Anglo-Saxon England. But the casket offers us hints that that process of becoming is not yet complete. Neither the individual narratives (visual or textual) nor the casket as a whole offer narrative resolution, and they tell us this in their own different ways. The inscription identifies the casket as made from whalebone, a substitute for ivory across northern Europe. Ivory was a material identified with the Virgin Mary via the throne of Solomon,²⁹ and this may be why the inscription encloses an image of the enthroned Virgin bearing Christ, especially if the casket was intended to hold a Christological relic of some sort. But the whale, as the inscription makes clear, is a creature of terror; terror and joy, a bringer of death (as we shall see further below), and a bearer of life brought together in the co-creation of meaning and object. This panel presents us with oppositions as well as puzzles. Moreover, if the inscription that surrounds the two scenes on the front of the casket suggests that we are meant to read the two together, that there is some synchrony or harmony between the two, the visual composition of the panel tears that harmony apart. The scenes are divided from each other by a band containing interlace ornament, and the action of the two panels moves in opposite directions: from right to left in the Weland panel, and from left to right in the Adoration of the Magi. Even as we want to read narrative parallels, typologies, and unified messages, the arrangement of the visual narratives emphasises dissonance and threatens any sense of unity. There is a threat of violence and destruction, stories are pulling apart as well as locking together,³⁰ just as the bridge simultaneously unites and draws attention to the fragility of union, to separateness, distance, and discord. The identity of both box and country are then ongoing processes.

The front panel offers a reading in microcosm of the Franks Casket as a post-colonial thing. It bridges and brings together peoples, creatures, and cultures from elsewhere, translating them into this very Anglo-Saxon thing/place in which they

dwelling, a world the original owner of the casket would also have inhabited. The multiple narratives provide a cultural performance, an enactment of origin myths, and a re-enactment in miniature of the Anglo-Saxons' own migration from the continent, and from their own real and imagined roots in the worlds of Rome (here represented by the Roman Christian church) and Germania. In doing so, the casket also creates doubles. Like the Anglo-Saxons, these people, their myths and histories came from across the water into England. The casket itself, the whale, crossed the water to come aground in England. The front panel makes it clear to the viewer that just as the casket presents us with multiple narratives of transformation, it also presents us with multiple narratives of home and exile that may double but are also very different from each other.

Gathering

The bridge gathers that which is apart into one location. Heidegger's concept of gathering was mystical, the fourfold gathering of earth, sky, the divine and the mortal. The Anglo-Saxons might well have thought of the Christian Church, and specifically the Roman Church as functioning in something of the same way. On one level, the Franks Casket is a bridge that gathers the pagan, the mythical, or secular history in such a way that it might dwell at peace within the Christian Church. As noted above, Bede, who was writing about the same time and in the same area of England in which the casket was produced, saw Augustine's mission to the English as bringing the chosen but pagan Anglo-Saxons into the salvation of the church. But the Germanic scenes are not ones of peace. Rather they focus on battle, death, sorrow and exile, the Rome that the Franks Casket gathers together with its 'Germanic' narratives, is pagan and imperial as well as Christian, and violence predominates over peace. All the scenes on the Franks Casket have a double nature that haunts the casket as a whole.

On the lid (Figure 2.2) a battle between Egil the archer (generally identified as Weland's brother) and a group of warriors, rages around what was originally the casket's handle. Egil appears to be defending his home, which includes a hooded woman, most likely Egil's wife, Alruna, standing beneath an arch with double-headed birds or serpents above her head and beneath her feet.³¹ This may be an apotropaic image, a symbolic defence of the casket and its contents, but in carrying the casket it is the bearer's hand that would be surrounded by battle, by the arrows and spears that circle the missing handle. They may be read as defensive, but they may also be read as aggressive. The image of a falling warrior apparently stabbing one of his comrades in the back of the head raises questions of duplicity and deceit.

The origin of the Germanic Weland and Egil story is uncertain if not imaginary geography, but it may have arrived on the island with the Anglo-Saxons themselves. According to *Völundarkviða* (which was probably not composed until the period 900–1050, but which certainly reflects earlier legends),³² the three brothers Weland, Egil, and Sláfiðr married three Valkyries whom they had first encountered in swan form. Alruna, Egil's wife, was also said to be the daughter of a Roman emperor.³³ She was then both a shape-shifter, and a woman who, through marriage, both united and tore apart peoples and realms. Years after their marriage, Alruna left Egil and he followed her into exile, never to return. Weland's swan-maiden wife eventually left him as well. Sometime later he became the prisoner of King Nithhad, from whom, as we have seen, he finally escaped by making a flying machine out of birds' wings.

The basic story was very popular in Anglo-Saxon England, even though it is impossible to tell how many of the details were current at the time the casket was made.³⁴ Weland was said to be the maker of Beowulf's mail shirt and Waldere's sword Mimming.³⁵ Both heroes feature in poems that involve treasure, battles in or over foreign lands, and the coming into being of kingdoms. Weland is alluded to in the Exeter Book poem *Widsith*, a catalogue of kings and heroes of early history and legend which, like the casket, translates the past into the here and now. The poem simply lists his father Wade as ruler of the Hallsings,³⁶ but describes the heroism of his son Widia at greater length.

Wudgan ond Haman –
 ne wæran þæt gesiþa þa sæmestan,
 þeah þe ic hy a nihst nemnan sceolde;
 ful oft þam heape hwinende fleag
 giellende gar on grome þeode;
 wræccan þær weoldan wundnan golde
 werum ond wifum Wudga ond Hama.³⁷ (lines 124b–30)

(Widia and Hama – they were not the worst of comrades, although I might name them last. Often from that troop, whistling in flight, a screaming spear at enemy people. The exiles there wielded wound gold, men and women, Widia and Hama.)

Weland features much more prominently in the poem *Deor*, also preserved in the Exeter Book. *Deor* is a poem about the consolation the past (some of the same past catalogued in *Widsith*) can provide to the present. The first two verses are devoted to the Weland legend.

Welund him be wurman wræces cunnade
 anhydig eorl earfoþa dreag,
 hæfde him to gesiþþe sorge ond longaþ,
 wintercealde wræce; wean oft onfond,
 siþþan hine Niðhad on nede legde,
 swoncre seonobende on syllan monn.
 Ðæs ofereode, þisses swa mæg.
 Beadohilde ne wæs hyre broþra deap
 on sefan swa sar swa hyre sylfre þing –
 þæt heo eacen wæs; æfre ne meahte
 þriste geþencan, hu ymb þæt sceolde.
 Ðæs ofereode, þisses swa mæg.³⁸ (lines 1–13)

(Weland himself by worms (swords?) knew torment, the strong-hearted noble endured troubles for his companions. He had sorrow and longing, winter-cold torment. He often found woe after Nithhad lay fetters on him, slender sinew-bonds on the better man. That passed away, so may this. Beadohild was not for the death of her brother as sad at heart as for her own trouble, that she had clearly realised that she was pregnant. She could never think about how that should turn out. That passed away, so may this.)

But the words of the poems are rather different from those of the casket. If there was an inscription that spoke about the Egil panel it is now lost, and the inscription that

surrounds the depiction of Weland speaks not about him but about the whale swimming ashore and the casket, the whale's bone. Weland's own bones went on to become part of the skeleton on which King Alfred went about constructing a distinctly united Anglo-Saxon identity during his struggle to gain control over the Scandinavian settlers in the late ninth century.³⁹ The Alfredian translation of Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae* meditates on their loss, using the same *ubi sunt* topos as the *Deor* poet. In lines that depart radically from the Latin original, Alfred asks, 'Hwær synt nu þæs foremeran 7 þæs wisan goldsmiðes ban Welondes? Hwær synt nu þæs Welondes ban, oððe hwa wat nu hwær hi wæron?' (Where are now the bones of that famous and wise goldsmith Weland? Where are now the bones of Weland, or who knows where they were?).⁴⁰ The words simultaneously translate Weland's bones into an Anglo-Saxon past (via a Roman text), and link the goldsmith with the king himself through both his wisdom and his craft. The smith is a craftsman of gold, the king a craftsman of both text and kingdom.⁴¹

On the right side of the casket (Figure 2.3) is a mysterious scene believed to derive from an as yet unidentified 'Germanic' legend. The surrounding inscription is in alliterative verse and encrypted. The inscription is in Old English, but substitutes older runic forms based on the consonants that end the Old English names for the runic letters for all its vowels.⁴² The inscription reads:

Her Hos sitiþ on harmberga
agl[.] drigiþ swa hiræ Ertæ gisgraf
sarden sorga and sefa torna

or

Her Hos sitiþ on hæumberga
agl[.] drigiþ swa hiræ Eutæ gisgraf
sæuden sorga and sefa torna

The generally accepted translation reads 'Here Hos sits on the sorrow mound; she suffers distress as Ertæ had imposed it upon her, a wretched den (or wood) of sorrows and torments of mind'. However, Tom Bredehoft has suggested that three of the runes should not be read as 'r'-runes but as cryptic runes that should be read as the letter 'u'. He suggests translating the verses as 'Here Hos sits on the high hill; she endures agl[.] as the Jute appointed to her, a *sæuden* of sorrows and troubles in mind'.⁴³ Both readings provide echoes of the inscription on the front of the casket in their words. There is the general tone of sadness, Hos's change in fortune when a sad fate was imposed on her, the lone torment suffered by the stranded whale and the mind of Hos, the imagery of death, and the sorrow mound, or high mound, that recalls the *fergenberig* encountered by the whale – or indeed the whale, the *unlond*, itself.

At the centre of the panel, the words *risci* (rushes or reeds) *wudu* (wood) and *bita* (biter) are inscribed above the horse's back, beneath its feet and in front of its head respectively. While the scene cannot be connected conclusively to any known text or story, the creature sitting on the mound at left, its muzzle bound by a serpent, is presumably Hos, the distressed one. Another figure appears to be contained within a burial mound between the horse and the hooded figure with the staff.⁴⁴ A cup above the mound helps to draw attention to this part of the scene. The word used here for barrow is a form of *beorg*, and the inscription and scene echo the inscription on the

front of the casket in which the whale crossed the sea and became stranded on a high *beorg*. The three cloaked figures on the right remain a mystery.

If Bredehoft's reading is correct, the mysterious personal name *Ertæ* becomes recognisable as a Jute (*Eutæ*). He suggests that embedded within the overall context of the panel, with its two horse or horse-like figures, is a reference to Hengest and Horsa, the two Jutish brothers who crossed the sea to figure prominently in one of the Anglo-Saxon's origin narratives.⁴⁵ The reference to the two brothers in this panel would provide a neat parallel for the brothers Romulus and Remus depicted in the opposite panel on the casket's left side, to which I will return shortly. Alternatively, might Hos, tortured by a Jute, figure the Britons within the casket's narratives?

The Hos panel remains enigmatic with its mysterious setting and personal names. We no longer know the story (or stories) of the creatures that inhabit it. On the left, a hybrid figure, presumably Hos, sits silenced by a serpent as an armed warrior approaches her. At the centre, a figure beneath a mound is flanked by an angry looking horse and a hooded figure holding a staff. Which of these is the 'biter' to which the word carved above their heads refers? And who is the hooded figure grasped or restrained by two similarly hooded figures? This mysterious figure looks directly out at us, both confronting us and drawing us into the event, doubling our gaze in and offering us another way of coming to terms with the space of the casket. The inscription may not help us to identify the story being told, but it does make clear that the story is one of sorrow, distress, torment, attack, and possibly death. The inscription also highlights the importance of language on the casket. Its hybridity, like that of Hos, helps to create the strange and foreign third space that is the casket.

On the back of the casket is a scene of the sack of the temple in Jerusalem by the Emperor Titus and his troops (Figure 2.4). The temple is pulled apart, Jerusalem falls, and its people are taken hostage. The inscription, in a mixture of the Old English and Latin languages, and runic and Roman letters reads '*her fegtaþ titus end giuþeasu hic fugiant Hierusalim afitatores*' (Here Titus and a Jew [or Jews] fight. Here the inhabitants flee Jerusalem). The inscription changes from Old English and runes for the first sentence, in which Titus and the Jews fight, into the Latin language and Roman alphabet for the description of the flight of the Jews, and then remains in Latin, but switches back into the runic alphabet for the final word 'inhabitants'. It may be that the change in language and alphabet is intended to draw attention to the mention of the Holy City of Jerusalem,⁴⁶ and/or its destruction by Rome, signalling the start of a new order.⁴⁷ However, the move from Old English to Latin and back again also serves to embed the Latin within the Old English and the Roman within the runic. As is the case with the Ruthwell Cross,⁴⁸ or with Bede's description of Heavenfield or Gregory's meeting with the Angle boys,⁴⁹ the languages and alphabets suggest a complex layering of time, voice, geographies and peoples. An event from Rome's history is told in Old English, the words identifying the Jewish city of Jerusalem are written in Latin, but its inhabitants are identified in Anglo-Saxon runes. Certainly Jewish history disappears here beneath both the Latin and the Roman, just as the city, its temple and its people 'disappeared' into the world of Rome, but what happens to the Jews is more complex. The word '*afitatores*' is a corrupt form of the Latin '*habitatores*', but written in runes, transforming the inhabitants of Jerusalem into a people that is both Roman (language) and 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'Germanic' (alphabet), yet not quite either. The inscription draws attention to transformation or metamorphosis (as did the inscription on the front of the casket, though that was a transformation of a

different sort), and furthers the Anglo-Saxons' self-identification with the Israelites.⁵⁰ At lower left the word *dom* (judgment) is carved next to a scene of judgment, and at lower right the word *gisl* (hostage) next to a scene of a figure or figures being led away. A figure seated beneath the throne at left holds out a cup in a gesture reminiscent of that of Weland the Smith on the front of the casket, suggesting that the two scenes of exile and imprisonment are meant to be read together.

On the left side of the casket (Figure 2.5) an inscription reading 'romwalus ond reumwalus twœgen gibroþær afœddæ hæ wylif in romæcæstri oþlæ unneg' (Romulus and Remus, two brothers, a she-wolf nourished them in Rome, far from their native land) surrounds a scene of the twins suckled by a she-wolf while a second wolf and four shepherds (or are they soldiers) look on. In this case, the words 'a she-wolf nourished them in Rome' are inscribed upside down, so that the viewer/reader must turn either the casket or her/his head upside down to make sense of them. But Romulus and Remus are also upside down, and while their unusual pose often receives comment, it is usually left at just that, comment. The Romulus and Remus motif was known in Anglo-Saxon England. It was present in the remains of Roman art that still stood across the north of England at the time the casket was made. It was also present in Anglo-Saxon coinage and on the whalebone plaque from Larling, Norfolk, with which this panel is so often compared.⁵¹ In all those images, the twins are placed beneath the she-wolf in the usual fashion, right side up.

There is also a curious doubling about this panel. Two twins, two wolves, two groups of shepherds discovering them. Twins aside, that doubling is not part of the traditional story. Furthermore, there is a rough symmetry to the panel, and a rhythmic repetition of pattern and line (the lines of the shepherds' staffs/spears, the looping patterns of the foliage) that draw the eye to the groups of paired figures. Why the pairs? Why the doubles? The twins also, somewhat unusually, pull away from each other. The doubling, the turning of both the twins and the phrase describing their nourishing in Rome upside down might be intended to alert us to the fact that there is another side to this story. Yes, it is one of the great foundation stories of the city of Rome, and of course the Anglo-Saxons were always interested in appropriating a good Roman origin legend, but the foundation of Rome also involved a dispute between the brothers as to where it should be built, the murder of Remus by Romulus, and Romulus's subsequent rape of the virginal daughters of the Sabines and the Latins. In its allusions to murder and rape, the panel has obvious connections with the scene of Weland on the front of the casket. And of course the fact that the twins were exiled as infants to hide them from an evil king has parallels with the story of Christ. Like the figure of the double, these stories mirror, echo and haunt each other; they are alike, but they are not the same.

The Anglo-Saxons may not have been ethnically Roman, but their religious and intellectual connections to the city cannot be overestimated.⁵² As noted above, it was the second, and perhaps the more important, of their imagined homelands. It was both a distant land across the sea *and* this promised land to which they had come, this third space. Through England's claims to Constantine, Rome's first 'Christian Emperor', through the Church, and through the ruins of empire that surrounded them, and from which many Anglo-Saxon churches were built,⁵³ Rome's origins became England's origins, and Rome's colonial architecture became the Anglo-Saxons' postcolonial architecture. Much has been made of the possible typological readings of the Roman stories told by the casket,⁵⁴ according to which Romulus and Remus become representative of good Christians nourished by the Church, and Titus's sack of the temple in Jerusalem

becomes a figure of the New Covenant and the Christian Church replacing the Old Covenant and the Temple of the Jews.⁵⁵ But these are also colonial stories, and violent ones at that. The sack of the temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE occurred after the city had declared its independence from Rome. According to Josephus, God had deserted the Jews for their sins and gone over to the side of the Romans. Over a million people were killed in the battle that followed and 97,000 were captured and enslaved. The city was sacked and the temple destroyed.⁵⁶

This was a triumph for Titus's Flavian dynasty, and it became one of its foundation stories, commemorated publically in one of the relief panels of the Arch of Titus on the Via Sacra in Rome. The treasures from the temple were taken back for display in Rome itself,⁵⁷ and Rome eventually came to replace Jerusalem as the power centre of the Christian church. The scene of judgment in the lower left quadrant of the panel may link the judgment of God against the Jews with the judgment of Titus as emperor,⁵⁸ but there is nothing overtly Christian about either the way the two scenes are depicted or in the inscriptions that speak to us about them. Similarly, in the Romulus and Remus panel the two brothers have been turned upside down and pull away from each other. And what should we make of the second wolf who licks at, bites, or is perhaps dead beneath their feet? The words 'afæddæ hiæ wylif in Romæcæstri' are also written upside down, a curious arrangement if the nourishment of the Roman mother-church was intended to be the main focus of the panel.⁵⁹ Instead, the words presented most clearly to the reader's eyes tell us that Romulus and Remus were two brothers and that they were in exile 'far from their native land'. Rome, like the twins, and like the whale, had a double nature. It may have been the centre of the Christian church, Romulus, the twin who lived, but it was also a ruined and defeated empire, Remus, the twin who died. In the case of the casket's back panel, again the inscription tells us of war and destruction. Here there is fighting, exile, and those very problematic hybrid inhabitants. The Adoration of the Magi is the only indisputably Christian image on the casket, but even that is a story of empire (the city of Bethlehem was subordinate to Rome), exile and violence (the massacre of the innocents to come). In saying this I am not denying that the casket has Christian content or meaning, but that is certainly not its only content, and it is not the content about which the casket itself speaks most loudly.

Gildas wrote at length about the suffering of the Britons under the Romans, a suffering due in part to their own duplicitousness.

So the Romans slaughtered many of the treasonable, keeping a few as slaves so that the land should not be completely deserted. The country now being empty of wine and oil, they made for Italy, leaving some of their own people in charge, as whips for the backs of the inhabitants and a yoke for their necks. They were to make the name of Roman servitude cling to the soil, and torment a cunning people with scourges rather than military force. If necessary they were to apply the sword, as one says, clear of its sheath, to their sides: so that the island should be rated not as Britannia but as Romania, and all its bronze, silver and gold should be stamped with the image of Caesar.⁶⁰

He also explicitly compared the defeat of Britain by the Saxons to that of the Jews, and the ruin of Britain to that of Jerusalem. In his description of the destruction wrought by the Saxons on the Britons he quotes both Psalms 74 and 79: 'They have

burned with fire your sanctuary to the ground, and they have polluted the dwelling place of your name' (Ps 74.7); 'God, the heathen have come into your inheritance; they have desecrated your holy temple' (Ps 79.1).⁶¹ Bede also describes some of the problems the people of the island suffered under Roman rule, though in nothing like Gildas's dramatic and emotional language. He prefaces his account of the persecution and martyrdom of St. Alban, 'fruitful Britain's child', with a statement that locates Britain within the Empire during the persecutions of Diocletian.

Interea Diocletianus in Oriente, Maximianus Herculus in Occidente uastari ecclesias, affligi interficique Christianos decimo post Neronem loco praeceperunt. Quae persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque inmanior fuit; nam per x annos incendiis ecclesiarum, proscriptionibus innocentum caedibus martyrum incessabiliter acta est. Denique etiam Britanniam tum plurima confessionis Deo deuotae gloria sublimauit.

(Meanwhile Diocletian in the East and Maximianus Herculus in the west ordered the churches to be laid waste and the Christians persecuted and slain, the tenth persecution after Nero. This one lasted longer and was more cruel than any of the previous ones; it continued without ceasing for ten years accompanied by the burning of churches, the outlawry of innocent people, and the slaughter of martyrs. In fact Britain also attained to the great glory of bearing faithful witness to God.)⁶²

Both portray the Britons as a people alternately colonised and abandoned, at times treacherous, at times betrayed. They have a double nature, and their fate is frequently doubled by that of either the Romans or the peoples of their continental homelands.

Land also has a double nature on the casket. The *beorg* as both word and memory echoes through its inscriptions and narratives. The word can mean hill or mountain and helps unite this land, the *fergenberig* on which the whale that is the casket was stranded, with the hills on which the city of Rome was founded, and on which the city of Bethlehem was located,⁶³ and on which the temple stood. The latter was believed by Bede, following 2 Paralipomenon 3:1, to be Mount Moriah.

For he himself is the mountain of mountains that rose indeed from the earth as a result of his taking flesh but transcends the power and holiness of all the earth-born by the peak of its singular dignity. That is to say, on this mountain the city or house of the Lord has been built because unless it fixes its root in him, our hope and faith are nothing. He is rightly called Mount Moriah, that is the mountain of vision, because he deigns to watch over and help his elect whom he preserves for the eternal vision of his glory as they toil in this passing life.⁶⁴

A mountain rises as Christ takes flesh, while Gasric's flesh is taken from his bones when he is raised up onto the mountain.

The temple was for Bede a place of 'reconciliation' for Jews and gentiles,⁶⁵ though that is not, of course, the way it is depicted on the Franks Casket. However, the exile and enslavement depicted on the casket were one of the historical precedents for, and a part of the Anglo-Saxon claim to the temple both spiritually and historically – in the sense that the story became part of Bede's historical narrative. In his homilies

and commentaries, but most especially in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, Jew and gentile, the ‘Mediterranean and barbarian spiritual and cultural traditions are inextricably entwined in the conversion and building up of the Church among the *gens Anglo-rum*’.⁶⁶ The Anglo-Saxon Church thus became in effect the successor to the temple on its mount, something that is visualised and spoken on the casket by the use of the Latin and Old English languages and the Roman and runic alphabets in the inscription surrounding this panel. Moreover, at the time that the casket was made the two mounts upon which the temple was located and upon which the Nativity and Adoration of the Magi took place were also being claimed in a way for England. Both sites were associated with the journey of Constantine’s mother Helena to the Holy Land, and with the churches that she and her son had built there. During the eighth century legends began to circulate that Helena was British, and that Constantine was born, and/or named emperor, in the north of Britain.⁶⁷ England’s association with the buildings on these sites thus extended back through Rome and the Empire, even if Helena was in fact British rather than Anglo-Saxon. The British are an absent presence, haunting the casket and its lands. Their absence reminds us that, like the Romans, the Angles, Saxons and Jutes were colonising peoples. They stifled the voices of a culture at the same time that they gave voice to their own hybrid postcolonial world.

But *beorg* can also mean barrow or tumulus, a place of death rather than life. The whale dies on the *fergenberig*, and Bethlehem was also the site of the massacre of the innocents. The juxtaposition of the inscription locating the whale’s death with Weland’s slaughter of the prince and the Adoration of the Magi calls this event to mind even though it is not depicted. Similarly, Romulus and Remus fought over the land on which Rome was to be built. Remus wanted to found the city on the Aventine Hill, and Romulus on the Palatine Hill. Romulus prevailed, Remus was killed and the hills became a tomb as well as a place of origin. And then there is the *harmberga* or *hæumberga*, the ‘sorrow mound’ or ‘high hill’ on which Hos (?) sits facing a scene that includes an inhabited tumulus or barrow at its centre. Whatever the story being told here, the Germanic homeland is imagined as a place of death as well as a place for the birth of heroes such as Widia.

Germanic or Roman, all the stories carved in the casket’s panels depict exile, violence, loss and the transformation of peoples from one state to another. The casket gathers them together and doubles them, creating a third space. The twins Romulus and Remus and the brothers Weland and Egil are exiles caught up in the fall of one order and the rise of another, as were Hengest and Horsa, the two Jutish brothers said to have led the Anglo-Saxons’ own migration, and seemingly referenced in the Hos panel. The parallels between these stories are not exact. The stories of long ago and distant homelands are doubled and retold in the new homeland. The casket does not provide narrative resolution, teleological histories, or closed readings. Hengest and Horsa were killed in battle against the Britons who inhabited the island before them. Or, putting it another way, they were silenced by the Britons in their attempt to silence the Britons themselves, an event that may just perhaps be signified by the muzzled and buried figures on the Hos panel.⁶⁸ Certainly this panel speaks loudest about silencing, sorrow and death.

There are also new foundations, the foundation of the Christian Church in the body of Christ, the foundation of Rome, the city that would claim that church as its own, and the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon church in its image. But here too the Britons haunt the casket. It was in the seventh and eighth centuries, the period in which the casket was created, that the Northumbrian church (and kingdom) was

busily expanding north and west into what had been British territory. The bringing of Christianity to the Britons, many of whom were already Christian, was a doubling in miniature of Augustine's bringing Roman Christianity to England.

Thing

I have repeatedly stressed that the materials and materiality of the casket are central to the postcolonial history it narrates and the third space it helps to establish. It is a thing in multiple senses of the word: as a material thing, as speaking thing, and as a place of judgment. Heidegger wrote that 'We call the disclosive taking up and perceiving of the written word "reading" or "lection" ... i.e. col-lection, gathering',⁶⁹ and through the act of reading, or interacting with this thing and its words, the viewer/reader becomes a part of the gathering, a part of the reading and telling of its stories and their translation of the past into the here and now. As Lorraine Daston has commented, there is something uncanny about things that speak,⁷⁰ because they seem to hover between animate and inanimate, subject and object, being and becoming. I would add that that sense of the uncanny is heightened when that thing speaks cryptically or in riddles, as does the Franks Casket. It is both narrator and narrative and it draws attention to this fact by riddling on its own thingness, its own materiality. It does not speak in the first person voice of, say, the eighth-century Ruthwell Cross with its long meditative runic poem,⁷¹ or the ninth-century Alfred Jewel, which, like so many other Anglo-Saxon speaking objects, describes its own making: 'Aelfred mec heht gewyrcan' (Alfred had me made). Rather, the casket tells stories through its inscriptions, its images, and the unspoken space between the two.

The casket is a narrator of history, and its words and languages are essential parts of what it says, what it is, and how we read. The inscriptions on the casket name people and places, but they do not name scenes; the titles we now attach to them are all modern. The naming of people, place, or action (or lack thereof) in the inscriptions has implications for how we understand its narratives. Naming is a mode of control that seems to give us a means of understanding and possessing an object or an image, but in reality it serves simply to emphasise the gap between what is represented and our desire to possess it in which lies the death of the object.⁷² To name the scenes has the effect of silencing the larger stories about which the casket speaks, encouraging us to read only the single episode in front of our eyes rather than engaging in a deeper reading of the larger myth or historical narrative of which it is a part. Typological or syncretic readings of the casket encourage us to do just this, but as the poem *Widsith* demonstrates,⁷³ the Anglo-Saxons also understood individual events as part of larger historical narratives. The lack of naming of the Weland the Smith scene demands that we project back in time to the events leading up to the murder of the princes, and then forward in time to the rape of the daughter and the birth of the hero in order to understand what has been depicted. In the scene of the Adoration of the Magi, we can also read both what comes before and what comes after: the birth of Christ, the massacre of the innocents, the Crucifixion, the very events that connect it typologically with the scene of Weland the Smith. Reading backwards and forwards in time creates a layering of time that translates the past into this location, the third space of the casket and eighth-century England. The inscriptions repeatedly tell us 'here', 'here', 'here', this is happening now, here. *Her* Hos sits on the sorrow mound, *her* Titus and a Jew fight, *her* the inhabitants of Jerusalem flee.⁷⁴ The here and now is thus continually haunted by the ghosts of other times and other places; the present bone is haunted by

the absent bodies. The casket itself encourages just this type of reading by translating its own past into the present, its transformation from whale to box, the one doubling and haunting the other.

Heidegger tells us that a *ding* (Old High German and Old English ‘meeting’, ‘council’, ‘assembly’, or ‘court of justice’) like the act of reading the written (or in this case carved) word, is a gathering.⁷⁵ *Ding* and thing have perhaps been too easily and too frequently brought together by those interested in thing theory or object-oriented ontologies,⁷⁶ but in the case of this thing, assemblies in which we see judgment enacted, or the results of it having been enacted, are very much a part of its meaning. Weland is ordered hamstrung, the sorrowing Hos endures the judgment of someone else, Titus decrees destruction and imprisonment on the Jews, and so forth. The casket then becomes a gathering in the sense of a place in which judgment is enacted, judgment that centres around exile, conquest and the claiming of land.

The Franks Casket is a location, a place, but also a not place, a living thing (*land* and *unlond*). The whale from which it was made was stranded and died on the island that is now England, but the whale was itself also an island of death for seafarers travelling over the water. According to medieval tradition, the whale could be mistaken for an island – an unland (*unlond*) that functions as an uncanny double of an actual land – that brought death to those who cast themselves up on its shores. This is made clear in the Exeter Book poem *The Whale*, in which the whale is both island and un-land:

Is þæs hiw gelic hreofum stane,
 swylce worie bi wædes ofre,
 sondbeorgum ymbseald, særyrica mæst.
 swa þæt wenap wægliþende
 þæt hy on ealond sum ealum wliton,
 ond þonne gehydað heahstefn scipu
 to þam unlond oncyrrapum,
 sælaþ sæmearas sundes æt ende,
 ond þonne in þæt eglond up gewitað
 collenferþe; ceolas stondað
 bi stape fæste, streame biwunden.
 Ðonne gewiciað werigferðe,
 faroðlacende, frecnes ne wenað,
 on þam ealonde æled weccað,
 heahfyr ælað facnes cræftig
 heahfyr ælað hæleþ beoþ on wynnum,
 reonigmode, ræste geliste.
 Ðonne gefeleð
 þæt him þa ferend on fæste wuniaþ,
 wic weardiað wedres on luste,
 ðonne semninga on sealtne wæg
 mid þa noþe niþer gewiteþ
 garsecges gæst, grund geseceð,
 ond þonne in deaðsele drence bifæsteð
 scipu mid scealcum. (lines 8–31a)⁷⁷

(Its appearance is like a rough stone such as floats (or crumbles) by the water’s edge surrounded by sand dunes, mostly seaweed, so that seafarers believe

that their eyes are looking at an island; and then they tie the high-prowed ships to that false land by anchor ropes, settle their sea-steeds at the water's edge, and then go up onto that island brave-hearted, their ships stand fast by the shore, surrounded by streams. Then the weary seafarers encamp, not expecting harm; they kindle a fire on that island, build a high blaze, worn out and longing for rest. When the one skilled in treachery feels that the sailors are securely settled upon him, have made a camp and are longing for clear weather, then suddenly into the salt sea the ocean spirit dives down with his victims, seeks the depths, and in the death-hall drowns ships with their crews.)

The Exeter Book dates from c. 1000, so the poem as written is much later than the casket, but it is based on the Greek *Physiologus*, which was popular throughout the Middle Ages. Isidore, in his *Etymologies*, also compared the whale (Latin *cetus*) to another type of land, a mountain, so it is especially appropriate that the whale that made the casket died cast up on to a hill.⁷⁸ It is itself a *beorg*, a double for the many other hills or mountains or tombs about which it speaks. The whale (the *unlond*) to which seafarers are drawn, becomes a mirror for the land of Britain to which people are drawn from multiple shores, an island that was itself, as we have seen, not without treachery and death.

The Franks Casket draws our attention to doublings or, in some cases, parallels, both materially and visually. As both subject and object the casket itself is everywhere present in the different riddles and narratives that literally emerge from it and that metaphorically circle around it. The casket speaks a number of different stories. It tells stories of life and death, danger and redemption, defence and victory, exile and return, civilisation and wilderness, treasure and its loss, evil and heroism, land, the conquerors and the conquered, containers and containment, and about what the casket is and does. These stories create pairings and doublings, and speak of double natures (births, deaths, becomings, destructions, the threat of violence, the twins, the island and the *unlond*). In so doing they help to reveal the double nature of the casket itself. The inscription on the front of the casket tells us that it was once a living creature, that it is made from living bone. Bone and ivory were valued throughout the Middle Ages for their lifelike glow, a sort of material memory of their former life, and the more bone and ivory objects were touched and held, the more they were interacted with, the more lifelike they became.⁷⁹ Over time, parts of these objects would become polished and worn away by touch; their surfaces changed and aged. In their lifelikeness bone things, like speaking things, could be uncanny, seeming to hover in the space between the living and the dead, not one, but yet not quite the other. As a material, bone already had an agency originally separate from, though now vital to the thing itself, as the story of Pygmalion from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* makes clear. The doubled stories of life, death and transformation that the casket tells both reflect the casket's nature and destabilise our reading of it, making us ask questions about the relationship between the human and the non-human, the animate and the inanimate, the inner and the outer, to contain and to consume (the twins suckling the wolf, the wine drunk from the prince's skull, the bread of Bethlehem, the whale – 'Gasric', the king of terror), to inhabit and to lay claim to. In the story of Jonah and the whale, the whale is a vessel, a shelter for Jonah and a means to salvation, but in the *Physiologus* tradition the whale, as we have seen, was associated with trickery, deceit and terror. In Ælfric's *Colloquy*, the fisherman states that he would not like to hunt a whale because it might just as easily kill him

as he it. The *Colloquy*, a dialogue between a teacher and his pupils, each of whom takes on the personae of various workers, was written by Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham, in Latin around the year 1000, and glossed in Old English at a later date. The Old English gloss on the fisherman and the whale reads:

- [Teacher:] Wilt þu fon sumne hwæl?
 [Pupil:] Nic.
 [Teacher:] Forwhi?
 [Pupil:] Forþam plyhtlic þingc hit ys gefon hwæl gebeorhlicre ys me faran to ea mid scype mynum þænne faran mid manegum scypum on huntunge hrane.
 [Teacher:] Forhwi swa?
 [Pupil:] Forþam leofre ys me gefon fisc þæne ic mæg ofslean þonne fisc þe na þæt an me ac eac swylce mine geferan mid anum slege he mæg besencean oþþe gecwylman.
 [Teacher:] Ond þeah mænige gefoþ hwælas ond ætberstaþ frecnysse ond micelne sceat þanon begytaþ
 [Pupil:] Soþ þu segst ac ic ne geþristge for modes mines nytenyssæ.⁸⁰
 ([Teacher:] Would you like to catch a whale?
 [Pupil:] No.
 [Teacher:] Why?
 [Pupil:] Because a dangerous thing it is to catch a whale. It is safer for me to go into the river with my ship than to go into the sea with many ships to hunt whales.
 [Teacher:] Why is that?
 [Pupil:] Because it is preferable to me to catch fish than it would be for me to slay that fish, which could not only me but also my companions drown and kill with one blow.
 [Teacher:] Nevertheless, many catch whales and escape from danger, and get much money from that.
 [Pupil:] You tell the truth, but I would not dare to because of my heart's cowardice.)

The fisherman in the *Colloquy* has very practical fears about encountering an animal of the whale's size and power on the open seas. The whale could, as the Franks Casket tells us, beat up the sea or be lifted up by it, threatening destruction to anything in its path; however, the whale could also be a much more evil and menacing being. In the lines from the Exeter Book poem, *The Whale*, quoted above the whale drowns its victims in a death-hall, but later in that same poem it threatens to entrap and consume those it encounters. It becomes the devil himself, and its jaws become the gates of hell.

Ðonne se fæcna in þam fæstenne
 gebroht hafað, bealwes cræftig,
 æt þam edwylme þa þe him on cleofiað,
 gyltum gehrodene, ond ær georne his
 in hira lifdagum larum hyrdon,
 þonne he þa grimman goman bihlemmeð
 æfter feorhcwale fæste togædre,

helle hlinduru; nagon hwyrft ne swice,
 utsiþ æfre, þa þær in cumað,
 þon ma þe þa fiscas faraðlacende
 of þæs hwæles fenge hweorfan motan. (lines 71–80)⁸¹

(When that evil one has led into that fastness, with evil craft into that fiery whirlpool, those who cleave to him, stained with guilt, those who had eagerly followed his teachings during their lives, then he after their death, those grim jaws snaps fast together, the gates of hell; they are unable to leave nor escape, to depart ever, those who enter there, any more than the swimming fish can escape that whale's grasp.)

The jaws of the whale snap shut, like the gates of hell, or like the lid of a box. It, the whale, had a double nature, and the stories that this transformed whale speaks riddle on that double nature. It is both invader and vanquished enemy, a dangerous exile on a foreign shore.

Conclusion

The materiality of the casket, then, both helps to create and presents us with a doubling for the stories it tells or contains. It bridges the casket's ontology and its narrative content. The Franks Casket is a thing, a gathering, a postcolonial coming together or collection of peoples, stories, languages, and words that rewrites, respeaks or translates, the past into the present and distant lands into *here* in a new location. Rome, Jerusalem, Scandinavia, Germania are and are not Anglo-Saxon places, just as the whale is and is not a land. The casket brings these peoples and their stories to England. It speaks of loss of dwelling and of dwelling in and on. It speaks of the judgment of rulers and of those who are judged, of the conquerors and the conquered. It speaks of the fragility of a kingdom that was only just solidifying its power. It speaks of the impossible third space, that space of liminal anxiety that is neither one place nor the other, but that unites the abandoned homeland with the new world of the coloniser and the colonised.

Notes

- 1 The casket is named for Augustus Franks who obtained all but the panel now in Florence (Figure 2.3) from the Parisian collector Jean-Baptiste Barrois.
- 2 See further Leslie Webster, *The Franks Casket* (London: British Museum Press, 2010); Leslie Webster, 'Stylistic Aspects of the Franks Casket', in *The Vikings*, ed. Robert T. Farrell (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1982), 20–32; Leslie Webster, 'The Iconographic Programme of the Franks Casket', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 227–46; Ian N. Wood, 'Ripon, Francia and the Franks Casket in the Early Middle Ages', *Northern History* 26 (1990), 1–19; Carol Neuman de Vegvar, 'Reading the Franks Casket: Contexts and Audience', in *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, ed. Virginia Blanton and Helene Scheck (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007), 141–59; Richard Abels, 'What has Weland to do with Christ? The Franks Casket and the Acculturation of Christianity in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum* 84.3 (2009), 549–81; James Paz, 'Talking with "Things" in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture', unpublished PhD thesis, King's College London, 2013, ch. 3.

- 3 Vicki Szabo suggests that the size, thickness and density of the panels indicates that the bone likely came from the mandible of a sperm whale. See Vicki Ellen Szabo, *Monstrous Fishes and the Mead-Dark Sea: Whaling in the Medieval North Atlantic* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 55, n. 79.
- 4 While its original function remains obscure, it was used as a sewing box during the nineteenth century.
- 5 The term itself was not used until the late ninth century. At the time the casket was made, the Anglo-Saxons referred to themselves variously as the Angles, the Saxons, the Angles and Saxons, the Jutes and the people of the land of the Angles.
- 6 See above pp. 54–7.
- 7 See Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); for the self and its double see also Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 95.
- 8 Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams, 'Introduction: A Return to Wonder', in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1–21, at 7.
- 9 The terms are Heidegger's, and will be explored in more detail below. On Heidegger's use of these terms see especially the essays in Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: HarperCollins, 1971).
- 10 Gildas, *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain and Other Works*, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom (London: Phillimore, 1978), 89–97.
- 11 Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 50.
- 12 See Wolf Liebeschuetz, 'The Debate about the Ethnogenesis of Germanic Tribes', in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Avril Cameron*, ed. Hagit Amirav and Bas ter Haar Romeny (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 341–56, at 352–3; James Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain: An Archaeological Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 180. On the Anglo-Saxons see Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 1.x15, v.9; Barbara Yorke, 'Politics and Ethnic Identity: A Case Study of Anglo-Saxon Practice', in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrell (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2000), 69–90.
- 13 Nicholas Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 143–4.
- 14 Gildas, *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain and Other Works*; Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, bk 1.
- 15 On this topic see Fabienne L. Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest: Imaginary Geography and Sense of Space* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). In addition to the *Genesis* and *Exodus* poems, Michelet's discussion includes *Beowulf*, *The Battle of Brunanburh*, *Andreas*, *Elene*, *Widsith*, and *Guthlac A*, poems written perhaps centuries apart and by different authors.
- 16 Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*.
- 17 Winfried Rudolf, 'The Spiritual Islescape of the Anglo-Saxons', in *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sebastian I. Sobecki (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011), 31–57, at 31.
- 18 See the essays in Sobecki, *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages*.
- 19 Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, 111.
- 20 Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest*, 17.
- 21 Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 17.
- 22 Heidegger, 'Building, Dwelling, Thinking', in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, 150–2.
- 23 Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest*, viii.
- 24 Widia is identified as Weland's son in the Old English poem *Waldere*, and also appears spelt as Wudga in *Widsith*.
- 25 This is the only text incised rather than carved in relief on the casket.
- 26 The meaning of the name was taken up by Bede in his commentary on Luke 2:1–20.
- 27 All transcriptions and translations of the Casket's inscriptions are based on Webster, *The Franks Casket*.

- 28 Gaby Waxenberger, 'The Cryptic Runes on the Auzon Franks Casket', in *More than Words, English Lexicography and Lexicology Past and Present. Essays Presented to Hans Sauer on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Part 1, ed. Renate Bauer and Ulrike Krischke (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), 161–70.
- 29 Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), 146; Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400–circa 1204* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 46.
- 30 In an uncanny intersection of myth and history, rings are very important to the casket. Weland was given a ring by his wife when she left him, and Nithhad gave it to his daughter when he captured Weland. That act was one of Weland's motivations for his harsh revenge on Nithhad and his family. The casket itself fell apart in the nineteenth century when a son of the family who owned it stripped it of its silver fittings in order to buy a ring. See further Webster, *The Franks Casket*, 25.
- 31 Alruna was a swan-maiden, and the double-headed creatures above and beneath her may signify her hybrid nature or ability to transform from one state to another.
- 32 John McKinnell, 'The Context of Völundarkviða', in *The Poetic Edda: Essays on Old Norse Mythology*, ed. Paul Acker and Carolyn Larrington (London: Routledge, 2002), 198–212, at 200. The earliest surviving manuscript version of Völundarkviða is thirteenth century. McKinnell argues further that the Völundarkviða was composed in Yorkshire, even though it is written in Old Norse (ibid, 200).
- 33 The emperor Kjarr was a Norse mythological figure believed to have been modelled on the Roman emperors. He was king of the Valir. The name Valir means 'foreigner' or 'stranger', and was used to refer to Romance or Celtic-speaking peoples of the old Roman Empire.
- 34 See further Maria Sachiko Cecire, 'Ban Welondes: Wayland the Smith in Popular Culture', in *Anglo-Saxon Culture and the Modern Imagination*, ed. David Clark and Nicholas Perkins (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), 201–17.
- 35 *Beowulf*, lines 450–5; *Waldere*, lines 2–4.
- 36 Line 22b: 'Wada Hælsingum'.
- 37 Bernard J. Muir, ed., *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: An Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1994), 2 vols, vol. 1, 245–6. All translations of Old English poetry are my own unless otherwise stated.
- 38 Muir, ed., *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, vol. 1, 283.
- 39 He is the first king to be called king of the Anglo-Saxons. See, e.g. Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge, eds, *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and other Contemporary Sources* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), 66–7.
- 40 Malcolm Godden and Susan Irvine, eds, *The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Version of Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), vol. 1, 283. In these lines Alfred substitutes Weland for the Fabricius of the Latin original.
- 41 On Alfred's use of *cræft* see Nicole Guenther Discenza, 'Power, Skill and Virtue in the Old English Boethius', *Anglo-Saxon England* 26 (1997), 81–108; Nicole Guenther Discenza, *The King's English: Strategies of Translation in the Old English Boethius* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 87–122.
- 42 See Webster, *The Franks Casket*, 14 for details of the verse's encryption.
- 43 Thomas A. Bredehoft, 'Three New Cryptic Runes on the Franks Casket', *Notes and Queries* n.s. 58.2 (2011), 181–3, at 181–2. The second transliteration and translation above are Bredehoft's.
- 44 Although Alaric Hall suggests that the figure in the barrow rather than the figure on the mound is Hos, noting that the line can be translated as either in or on the barrow. Alaric Hall, 'The Images and Structure of *The Wife's Lament*', in *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 33 (2002), 1–29, at 2–3.
- 45 Bredehoft, 'Three New Cryptic Runes on the Franks Casket', 182.
- 46 David A. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 100.
- 47 Webster, *The Franks Casket*, 38.

- 48 Catherine E. Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), 137–45.
- 49 Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, iii.2, ii.1; Uppinder Mehan and David Townsend, “‘Nation’ and the Gaze of the Other in Eighth-Century Northumbria”, *Comparative Literature* 53.1 (2001), 1–26.
- 50 The Anglo-Saxons believed themselves to be the chosen people, and their migration to England a type of Exodus. Their understanding of how they might descend from the Jews of the Old Testament, however, was problematic. See Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*; Bede, *On Genesis*; Bede, ed. and trans. Calvin Kendall (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2008); Catherine E. Karkov, *Reading the Mother Tongue* (forthcoming).
- 51 See Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England*, fig. 34.
- 52 See Nicholas Howe, ‘Rome: Capital of Anglo-Saxon England’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34.1 (2004), 147–72.
- 53 See Tim Eaton, *Plundering the Past: Roman Stonework in Medieval Britain* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000); Eric Cambridge, ‘The Architecture of the Augustine Mission’, in *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. Richard Gameson (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 202–36; Karkov, *Art of Anglo-Saxon England*, 13–19, 41–68.
- 54 See, for example, Leslie Webster, ‘The Iconographic Programme of the Franks Casket’; James Lang, ‘The Imagery of the Franks Casket: Another Approach’, in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Hawkes and Mills, 247–55; Carol Neuman de Vegvar, ‘The Traveling Twins: Romulus and Remus in Anglo-Saxon England’, in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Hawkes and Mills, 256–67 (though this paper does note the duality of the Romulus and Remus panel); Neuman de Vegvar, ‘Reading the Franks Casket: Context and Audiences’.
- 55 Webster, *The Franks Casket*, 37–8.
- 56 Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, ed. and trans. G. A. Williamson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959), bks. vi and vii.
- 57 See further Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason and James Rives, *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), chs. 6, 7.
- 58 The sack of the temple took place in 70 CE but Titus did not become emperor until 79. It is possible that the designer of the Casket, if s/he knew the historical chronology, may have conflated the two events, just as s/he conflated separate episodes from the story of Weland the Smith on the Casket's front panel.
- 59 Turning this part of the inscription upside down could be a way of making us work for meaning, but Christian content is not generally turned upside down as to do so would normally signal defeat or death.
- 60 Gildas, *The Ruin of Britain and Other Documents*, 18.
- 61 Gildas, *The Ruin of Britain and Other Documents*, 27.
- 62 Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 28–9.
- 63 Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, v.16.
- 64 Bede, *Bede: On the Temple*, trans. Seán Connolly, with an intro. by Jennifer O'Reilly (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), 20.
- 65 Jennifer O'Reilly in Bede, *Bede: On the Temple*, xxxviii.
- 66 O'Reilly in Bede, *Bede: on the Temple*, xxxviii; see also Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Venerable Bede, the Rule of St Benedict, and Social Class*. ([Jarrow]: Rector of Jarrow, 1976).
- 67 Antonina Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), 28–33, 37–40; see also Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, i.8.
- 68 Attempts to silence the Britons and claim their land are a feature of Anglo-Saxon poems such as *Guthlac A*, in which Welsh-speaking demons inhabit the land which Guthlac claims, and *Andreas*, in which fen-dwelling Britons become the models for the poem's cannibals. See Lindy Brady, ‘The Spatial Ambiguity of *Guthlac A*’ (forthcoming); Lindy Brady, ‘Echoes of Britons on a Fenland Frontier in the Old English *Andreas*’, *Review of English Studies* 61, no. 252 (2010), 669–89.
- 69 Martin Heidegger, *Parmenides*, trans. André Schuwer and Richard Rojcewicz (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992), 85.
- 70 Lorraine Daston, ed., *Things that Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science* (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 14. See also Daniel Tiffany, ‘Lyric Substance: On Riddles, Materialism, and Poetic Obscurity’, *Critical Inquiry* 28.1 (2001), 72–98.

- 71 For a discussion of the runic poem on the Ruthwell Cross, see Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England*, 140–42; Catherine E. Karkov, ‘The Arts of Writing: Voice, Image, Object’, in *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. Clare A. Lees (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 73–98, at 85–91; Éamonn Ó Carragáin, ‘Who Then Read the Ruthwell Poem in the Eighth Century?’, in *Aedificia Nova: Studies in Honor of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov and Helen Damico (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008), 43–75.
- 72 See the philosophical discussion of Adam’s naming of the animals in Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *System of Ethical Life and First Philosophy of Spirit*, ed. and trans. H. S. Harris and T. M. Knox (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1979), 221; Maurice Blanchot, ‘Literature and the Right to Death’, in *The Gaze of Orpheus and Other Literary Essays*, ed. P. Adams Sitney (Barrytown, NY: Station Hill Press, 1981), 21–62, at 42; Peter Schwenger, *The Tears of Things: Melancholy and Physical Objects* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 21, 53.
- 73 See above p. 46.
- 74 The casket’s insistence on *here* might support the suggestion that it was originally a reliquary. Peter Brown has noted that the emphasis on ‘*hic est locus*’ (here is the place) is very much a feature of the cult of relics throughout Christendom. See Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints and its Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 86.
- 75 Heidegger, ‘Building, Dwelling, Thinking’, 143–59.
- 76 See, for example, Bruno Latour, ‘Why has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern’, *Critical Inquiry* 30 (2004), 225–48.
- 77 Muir, ed., *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, vol. 1, 272–3.
- 78 Isidore, *Etymologiae*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911), 12.6.8.
- 79 See, for example, the very tactile attitudes towards and approaches to the material surveyed in Anthony Cutler, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium (9th–11th Centuries)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). See also Hahn, *Strange Beauty*, 26.
- 80 Ælfric, Abbot of Eynsham, *Colloquy*, ed. George Norman Garmonsway (new ed.) (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1991), 29–30.
- 81 Muir, ed., *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, vol. 1, 274.

3 Camouflaging and echoing the Latin mass in an illuminated French-language missal

Margaret E. Hadley

The hybrid text and illustrated scrolls in the French-language Yale Missal (New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425; Figure 3.1) reveal complex boundary negotiations between laity and clergy, while problematising the relationship between authoritative exemplars and vernacular translations. The Yale Missal disseminates the style of Jean Fouquet (c. 1420 to c. 1480), the century's leading artist from Tours, whose innovative narratives and naturalistic portraiture enriched his paintings in ways that invite a range of interpretations. The Master of the Yale Missal¹ directed the extensive programme and opened a new horizon of expectation for illustrated mass books with the help of his generous patron.² Since a cycle of more than five hundred miniatures distinguishes the Yale Missal immediately from all other French-language mass books before 1500,³ analysing specific details reveals how the manuscript makes the vernacular seem illustrious⁴ and enriches lay experience of the mass. The illuminator represented Latin-language speech scrolls,⁵ despite the fact that the scribe copied the corresponding dialogue from the gospels of Matthew and Luke exclusively in French. Adding painted Latin scrolls to Yale Missal miniatures has implications for the relative status of the French and Latin tongues in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Although the missal in French belongs specifically to the process and theory of the *translatio studii et imperii*, or the transfer of learning and empire, that influenced ancient as well as medieval cultures,⁶ comparison to more contemporary theories associated with postcolonial critique and translation helps interpret the power relations suggested by the textual and visual aspects of this manuscript. The title, for example, of this chapter was inspired by Homi Bhabha's expression in his essay on English bible translations for colonial India, 'less than one and double'.⁷ 'Less than one' speaks to the process of camouflaging, when the Yale Missal text includes displaced contents from the Canon of the Mass and incorporates unidentifiable depicted scripts. 'Double' resonates with the repeated incipits, or opening phrases, of many texts in the mass book and with echoed liturgical performance in painted speech scrolls. Jacques Derrida and Samia Mehrez speak to the forms of hybridity intrinsic to similar plurilingual texts that both enrich and destabilise the reader's frame of reference.⁸ This essay will explore the historical and theoretical context of the hybrid Yale Missal, show how script and format suggest French ascendancy, analyse depicted Latin scrolls and demonstrate how painted texts convey cultural difference in this elite vernacular manuscript. Camouflaging and echoing the Latin-language rite through rubrics, script, format, incipits and scrolls in Yale Missal texts and images do not serve to marginalise the French translation but to elevate its status and evoke the boundaries of elite modes of expression through a favourable and sustained comparison to the original, priestly mass book.



Figure 3.1 Triumphal Entry, First Sunday of Advent, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library MS 425, fol. 6r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).

Historical and theoretical context of the hybrid French-language missal

In Yale Missal miniatures with Latin-language dialogue scrolls, Latin is to speech what French is to the written word. The Yale Missal presents its viewer-reader with more than one elite language: Latin is the spoken tongue of the official, priestly rite and French is a written record of mass texts. One can amplify the differences between Latin and various European languages, but French enjoyed special status by the time the Yale Missal was produced because writers and patrons promoted it as a manifestation of their 'linguistic nationalism'.⁹ For instance, Nicole Oresme's prologue to his 1370 vernacular version of Aristotle's *Ethics* for King Charles V (1338–80), a leading supporter of translation projects, describes French as: '[A] noble language and common to people of great skill and good prudence'.¹⁰ Another manner of championing French cultural ascendancy was repetition of the *translatio studii* trope. This notion has been masterfully explored by many scholars: Rita Copeland, Anne D. Hedeman, Serge Lusignan and others.¹¹ The introduction of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, an official national history translated into the vernacular and updated for the Abbey of St Denis by the chancellor of Charles V,¹² claims the mantle of learning and empire.

In three regions they [philosophy and chivalry] have dwelled in various periods: in Greece they reigned first; because the fount of philosophy was formerly in the City of Athens, and the flower of chivalry [was] in Greece. From Greece they came to Rome: from Rome they came to France.¹³

Further afield, in *De vulgari eloquentia*, Dante recognised the exceptional status of French in communicating authoritative texts:

Thus the language of *oïl* adduces on its own behalf the fact that, because of the greater facility and pleasing quality of its vernacular style, everything that is recounted or invented in vernacular prose belongs to it: such as compilations from the Bible and histories of Troy and Rome, and the beautiful tales of King Arthur, and many other works of history and doctrine.¹⁴

By the end of the fourteenth century, French translations had been made of Greek philosophy, Roman legal codes, ancient history, royal chronicles, the Bible and the liturgy. The French language asserted itself relative to the prolonged dominance of Latin with this ever growing list of learned translations.¹⁵ Because of its use by English aristocrats, even insular medieval authors deferred to the French language's status as a super vernacular or elite vernacular, if such paradoxical phrases can be entertained.¹⁶ Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle* prologue communicates in English, a non-erudite language by contrast to Latin and French: 'Not for the learned but for the unlearned, for those that in this land reside who know neither Latin nor French'.¹⁷ Late medieval French authors, as seen above, did not have such a modest opinion of their vernacular literature. If the Yale Missal was indeed destined for a royal or courtly patron,¹⁸ the motivation for elevating the status of the French language – and by extension the French king and his people – may have been at least as political as this liturgical translation was spiritual.

Royal patronage and pastoral care motivated the initial missal translation project undertaken by clergy in France, giving medieval laypersons unparalleled access to the core sacramental rite. Queen Jeanne of Burgundy (1293–1349), the first wife of King Philip VI (1293–1350), commissioned translated mass readings, or lections.¹⁹ Library inventories document the earliest translation of sequential mass prayers commissioned by Queen Blanche of Navarre (d. 1398), the second wife of Philip VI.²⁰ Biblical translation and paraphrases have received much more attention to date in the literature than medieval translations of the liturgy, which merit study because all levels of society had continuous access to these rituals. The French Eucharistic rite in the Yale Missal exemplar linked indigenous language to the only sacrament instituted by Christ. Since representing the vast array of concepts and stories comprising the mass liturgy throughout an entire year requires a fully functioning language, complete missal translations demonstrate how well Middle French vocabulary met the challenge. As Walter Benjamin recognised, ‘the translator ... must expand and deepen his language by means of the foreign language’.²¹ The translation of this elite text into French marks another crucial step toward becoming an authoritative written language. In *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages*, Ananya Jahanara Kabir set forth stages in the transformation process or growth of a living language²² that suggest the technical vocabulary and level of cultivation demonstrated in the Yale Missal could help gauge the dynamic qualities of fifteenth-century French. In their co-authored introduction to the same volume of essays, Kabir and Williams argue for ‘translation as a mechanism of and metaphor for cultures in contact’.²³ French royalty and their Dominican advisors fostered the significant opportunity for cultural engagement inherent in translating this ancient work. The Yale Missal, therefore, served the monarchy’s focus on building national prestige through cooperation with the church.

A medieval French-language missal exists in limbo, between being a functioning mass book and an unofficial sacramental aid. The French translation was not recognised as capable of performing transubstantiation until the Second Vatican Council approved French as a liturgical language in the mid-1960s. Therefore, early French missals can be characterised as second class or ‘faux’ missals.²⁴ The Francophone echo, or doubling of information given in Latin cues, compares to Homi Bhabha’s description of a ‘Hindustani’ bible translation distributed during the colonial era as ‘less than one and double’.²⁵ ‘Less than one’ does not indicate, when applied in the case of the Yale Missal, crippling textual omissions or deficiency. The ‘less than’ is most appropriately understood as figurative or symbolic; it implies the lower status of new vernacular translations when compared to an authoritative exemplar produced by a colonial cultural power. By echoing Latin liturgical content in a monumental fashion, beyond standard aesthetic expectations for an illuminated fifteenth-century altar missal,²⁶ the Yale Missal designers affirm the high status of French courtly culture during the late Middle Ages.

Although Bhabha’s succinct formulation, ‘less than one and double’,²⁷ is best suited to the case of the Yale Missal, the theme of repetition in translation has been highlighted by other theorists. Walter Benjamin praised interlinear translations, which are essentially repetitious, as an ideal prototype and he perceived ignorance of a foreign language as the vernacular gloss’s fundamental rationale for ‘saying “the same thing” repeatedly’.²⁸ The best kind of translation, according to Benjamin, will ‘produce the echo of the original’ and ‘reverberation of the alien one [or foreign authoritative text]’.²⁹ The Yale Missal’s Latin cues and French texts in performance order

facilitate a continued process of interpretation that helps transform reading into ‘a perpetual translation’, as Mehrez discerned in a group of North African postcolonial texts.³⁰ Derrida situates his *Monolingualism of the Other* as a reminiscence related to a conference entitled, ‘Echoes from Elsewhere’,³¹ demonstrating another connection to Bhabha’s concise formula, quoted above. Liturgical speech’s inherent repetition, when expressed in manuscript form, is thus compounded by the French translator who supplied incipits associated with priestly mass celebration in Latin.

Rubrics and manuscript catalogues have asserted that some information is concealed from the laity in medieval French missal translations, but these core materials are camouflaged. The Dominican innovation of copying translated mass prayers in liturgical order is modified at the Canon of the Mass, because missing consecration prayers are announced with French rubrics. The Yale Missal reader learns: ‘The words of the sacrament of the Body are not placed here’ and ‘The words of the sacrament of the Blood are not placed here’.³² Past literature on medieval missals in French, starting with the 1404 Burgundian library catalogue, states that the contents of any vernacular mass book should be limited. The Burgundian inventory stipulates, regarding this royal manuscript, ‘The majority of the quires of a missal translated from Latin into French, which the late Queen Blanche had made, and which was left unfinished, because it was said that it is not expedient to translate such a book, especially the holy Canon’.³³ Although the two consecration prayers were not copied in their anticipated sequence, a thorough reader notes displacement and camouflage, instead of omission, because the Canon consecration prayers’ essential contents are found multiple times in the Yale Missal. Translated readings for services during the week preceding Easter and the Corpus Christi feast contain entire biblical passages about the Last Supper that nearly match the priest’s Canon prayers.³⁴ Rubrics describing textual lacunae within existing French-language missal manuscripts are thus substantively rhetorical,³⁵ but the theme of denying laity access remains at the forefront of past literature on this liturgical anomaly.³⁶ Recognising how extant manuscript translations before 1500 facilitated a full understanding of the mass can appropriately shift historians’ focus from merely apparent or partial lacunae in the Yale Missal to more sophisticated mechanisms that emphasise hybridity through repetition. Analysis of these efforts to camouflage translated consecration texts thus reveals that repetition or doubling is the most significant manifestation of the Yale Missal’s relationship to the official mass liturgy.

French ascendance: Script, format and the illuminated page

Script in the Yale Missal suggests both the hybrid and elite status of the vernacular mass book via consciously stylised fonts. The scribe’s fine gothic lettering, or *Littera Textualis Formata*, of the textblock is accompanied by the painter’s fifteenth-century version of ancient Roman capitals in the miniatures (Figure 3.2). Utilising two distinct letter systems on multiple illuminated folios proclaims the Yale Missal’s hybridity visually, whether a viewer can understand the text or not. The miniatures’ capital letters resemble ancient imperial inscriptions preserved in Italy as well as in ancient Gaul, so they directly point to France’s history as a Roman colony. The authority of past forms for expression subjugates, or at least asserts itself, in the present. *Textualis* was habitually used in the fifteenth century for fine liturgical manuscripts, perhaps because of its legibility by comparison to *Bastarda*³⁷ and *Cursiva*.³⁸ The *Textualis* font, consistently

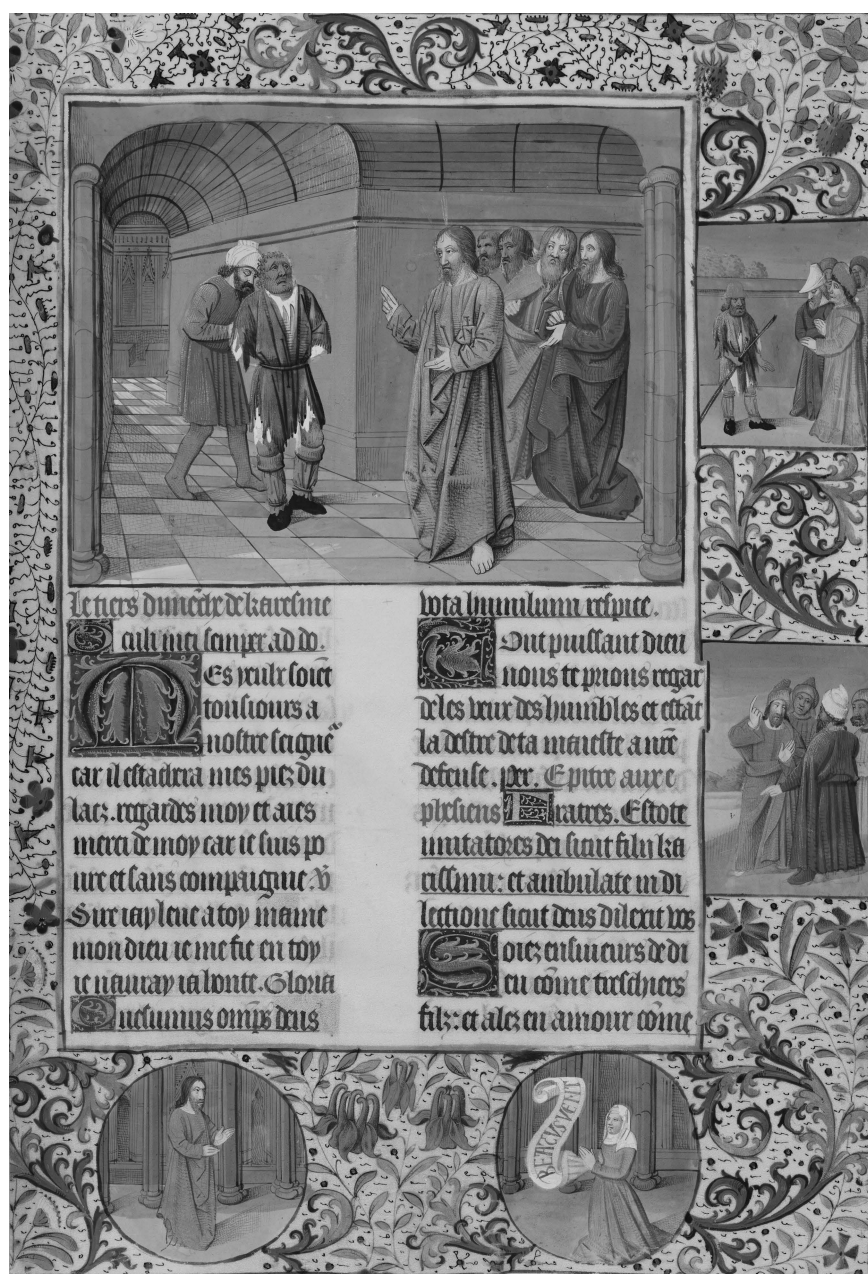


Figure 3.2 Jesus casts out a demon and a mute man speaks, Third Sunday of Lent, Yale Misal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 74r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).

associated with the best altar books, suggests that this script emblematised an elite manuscript to contemporary readers. Text, here, reads as a kind of image with intentional symbolic associations that underscore the high status conveyed by both primary text styles in the Yale Missal. Equally noteworthy to signifying elite status is the contemporary coexistence of these two fonts. When comparing the Carolingian revival of Roman rustic capitals to gothic book hand, Erwin Panofsky discussed a ninth-century example reinterpreted by a thirteenth-century scribe.³⁹ Each writer in that case preferred to use the most elite font that could be easily understood by contemporaries, so Textualis and Roman majuscules communicated prestige as well as clarity. Carolingian manuscripts produced at Tours, like the later Yale Missal, employed multiple lettering styles, some of which may have been available for Fouquet and the Yale Missal Master to study in the fifteenth century. One fine manuscript from Tours's scriptorium with contemporaneous palaeographical variety is a *Martinellus* (BNF lat. 10848), showing capitals, uncial and Caroline minuscule in the eight lines elegantly beginning this collection about St Martin of Tours.⁴⁰ Carolingian scribes typically respected a hierarchy of scripts that privileges historical, monumental capitals over uncial and the revivalist lettering perfected as a result of Alcuin's lasting influence on scripts produced in Holy Roman imperial Tours.⁴¹ Seeing more than one prestigious script together in the Yale Missal proves the makers' faculty of choice and invites a symbolic reading of elements in the manuscript that were commonly excluded from its previous, sustained interpretations that were focused on connoisseurship. The Yale Missal Master, therefore, consciously used a revived version of Roman majuscule in depicted scrolls. This visually highlights the hybrid nature of the manuscript's contents and reflects the elite character of the texts being represented.

Surveying the incipits of two French-language missals made over a 150 year period demonstrates shifts in boundaries allowing laity access to verbal and visual components of the priestly mass book. As Michael Camille recognised, 'the language in which manuscripts are written can affect their mode of illustration'.⁴² French missals without illustration, like the oldest Dominican exemplar now conserved,⁴³ visually embrace inferiority relative to a priest's missal. Dominicans reading the Vatican French Missal would have been familiar with the missing iconography,⁴⁴ distinguishing the vernacular text from the finest altar books. This manuscript's simple programme of colourful ornamental initials emphasises the translation's practical utility for a monastic audience. By contrast, the Yale Missal's altar book scale,⁴⁵ fine parchment, Textualis script, abundant high-quality illustration and Latin speech scrolls suggest not mere luxury but a kind of confident Francophone authority strengthened by comparison to Latin. The Yale Missal's unabashedly elite modes of expression in script, codex form and images project an air of monumentality.⁴⁶ Like the Vatican French Missal, the Yale Missal contains a French translation of Dominican mass texts for the entire year and uses decorative letters to introduce key sections in Latin and French. The rhetoric of images in the Yale Missal effectively distinguishes this unique manuscript from modest, didactic translations that appear explicitly subordinate to the Latin exemplar. At the First Sunday of Advent incipit, the Master of the Yale Missal represents apostles preparing for the procession and Jesus entering Jerusalem on Palm Sunday in four miniatures (Figure 3.1). The border vignette to the upper right encapsulates the reader's and manuscript's relationship to the official rite. Here, the priest raises his hands, reciting from an open book with lines portraying text; his back is turned toward the viewer who follows the French-language rite in a lavishly illuminated manuscript.

This folio's text and image proclaim that the Yale Missal is adapted to a layperson's spiritual and educational aspirations, while signalling the richness of fifteenth-century French culture. Integrating a full programme of illumination by regional artists in the Yale Missal increased the signs of prominence associated with contemporary, national identity.

The scribe of the Yale Missal consistently inserted Latin phrases into this French translation, utilising incipit cues to repeat information. The shift from Jeanne of Burgundy's translated lections to Blanche of Navarre's missal in French facilitated access to the mass's meaning, while sequential Latin cues reflected oral celebration of the rite. Although Blanche of Navarre's original French-language missal is lost, the Yale Missal's format conserves an approach to textual content that is similar in all extant Dominican French-language missals.⁴⁷ Beyond cues, or abbreviated cross references, for the Epistle and Gospel lections, Latin incipits precede French translations of the Introit, Prayer, Tract, Secret and Postcommunion texts;⁴⁸ therefore, the official rite is referenced just enough to convey corresponding meanings between Latin and French.⁴⁹ For instance, the Latin Introit for the Third Sunday in Lent is abbreviated, 'Oculi mei semper ad do[-minum]' (Figure 3.2). The French translation that immediately follows unfolds the Psalmist's narrative, 'My eyes are ever towards the Lord: for he shall pluck my feet out of the snare',⁵⁰ and completes the prayer. The scribe's and artist's diligent inclusions in the language of liturgical performance underscore how the Yale Missal's hybrid text was adapted for both reading and listening. Even though the scribe and illuminator, who underlined the Latin texts in red, systematically appear to defer to the authority of the official Latin rite through untiring repetition of the priest's incipits,⁵¹ additional components suggest how production priorities subtly aimed to supersede the Latin original and eventually herald its trajectory toward limited usage. The Yale Missal's incipits and inscribed miniatures push Latin to the margins, representing this official church language in fragments of oral liturgical performance instead of complete texts.

Relative linguistic importance is emphasised through the Yale Missal's larger-scale initials for vernacular text openings than its corresponding Latin incipits. L.M.J. Delaisse's codicological analysis methods, for example, encouraged recording the height of all decorative initials to gauge a volume's hierarchy of texts.⁵² At the incipit for the Third Sunday of Lent, the scale of ornamental initials characteristically illustrates the most typical pattern in the Yale Missal (Figure 3.2). The first column has a one-line-high initial for the Latin Introit cue, while the corresponding French text starts with a letter three lines high. The Latin Prayer and Epistle begin with one-line majuscules, contrasting with the two-line decorative initials that open the translated sections. Smaller scale letters diminish the prominence of Latin, despite the fact that these texts are underscored in red, because the illuminator used considerably more materials, including gold, and time to finish the larger initials at French incipits throughout the manuscript. Ornamental format, thus, focuses the original reader's attention on the French passages.

Depicting Latin mass texts in a French-language missal

Although the truncated words on minute Latin banderoles in the Yale Missal may prove challenging to decipher, those familiar with conventional abbreviations can readily identify the episodes represented with the corresponding French translation of

biblical dialogue. Even if a scroll's precise meaning was unclear, its letter forms evoked the authority of what is known as 'Trajanic' majuscule, which Christopher Wood described as: the 'canonical' or 'ideal' Roman alphabet that enforced 'the Imperial voice throughout the empire'.⁵³ Thus, the artist's interventions also monumentalised the manuscript, using a Roman epigraphic style similar to the one employed in their ancient *translatio studii et imperii*. For instance, 'BEATVS' is used on 74 recto (Figure 3.2), not 'BEATUS', to echo such well-known Imperial use of the letter V instead of U as the penultimate word in the Roman Pantheon portico's dedicatory inscription: 'TERTIVM'. Script in the Yale Missal that repeats Latin ceremonial performance of the mass asserted the traditional hegemony of the Roman church and, thus, the artist's interventions in historicised capital letters relate broadly to the theme of transferring empire.

Four folios' scrolls with Latin text painted in the original campaign of decoration by the Yale Missal Master help sanction and ennoble this illuminated French translation by reference to authoritative liturgical ceremony and antique epigraphy.⁵⁴ These few examples merit close analysis, because Yale Missal miniatures depict hundreds of conversations without using painted signs to represent audible speech. For instance, Matthew's feast incipit shows King Egippus greeting sorcerers Zaroës and Arphaxat, Matthew talking to the sorcerers and Matthew verbally healing a man on crutches.⁵⁵ Speech scrolls appear to have been outmoded by the second half of the fifteenth century, so the artist probably intended for them to draw viewers' attention.⁵⁶ Since scrolls were a generally antiquated communication technology, inserting them also undercuts the illumination's contemporising aspects, such as depicting mid-fifteenth-century costume among landscapes and interiors that obviously evoke central France more than the Near East or ancient Rome.⁵⁷ The Yale Missal Master displayed familiarity with the Latin mass rite because speech scrolls' content echoes the priest's spoken word in each case.⁵⁸ The Latin scroll, 'S[anctus] LVCAS', held by the Evangelist in the Yale Missal (Figure 3.3) anticipates liturgical speech because it announces the location of the Gospel reading that was translated in the manuscript's rubric: 'According to St Luke'.⁵⁹ In a more pronounced manner, representing Zechariah writing, 'John is his name',⁶⁰ at John the Baptist's Nativity feast incipit dramatises the complex interplay of oral and written language in liturgical manuscripts (Figure 3.4). When Zechariah questioned the birth announcement of his son, John the Baptist, the archangel Gabriel miraculously silenced this future father's voice.⁶¹ While gazing at the inscribed scroll or reading the vernacular translation, the Yale Missal owner could have heard a priest enunciate this Latin phrase penned by the temporarily mute Zechariah, whose faculty of speech is about to be restored. This double record of communication expresses the potentially miraculous effects of statements motivated by conviction, echoing in Latin and French.

The Yale Missal's sequentially first Latin speech scroll at the Third Sunday of Lent incipit repeats graphic biblical references to the Virgin Mary's body (Figure 3.2). The artist literally marginalises this indiscreet statement, attempting perhaps to sanitise its effect, by representing it in Latin, which was often less recognisable to the laity. Jesus acknowledges a woman who raised her voice in a crowd to exclaim: 'blessed is the womb [that bore thee, and the paps [nipples] that gave thee suck]'.⁶² This prophetic statement by Martilla, as she was later identified in the *Golden Legend*,⁶³ reinforced veneration of Christ's mother. This scene was expanded to fill two roundels, mimicking the rhetorical practice of amplification.⁶⁴ Because the biblical account's multitude

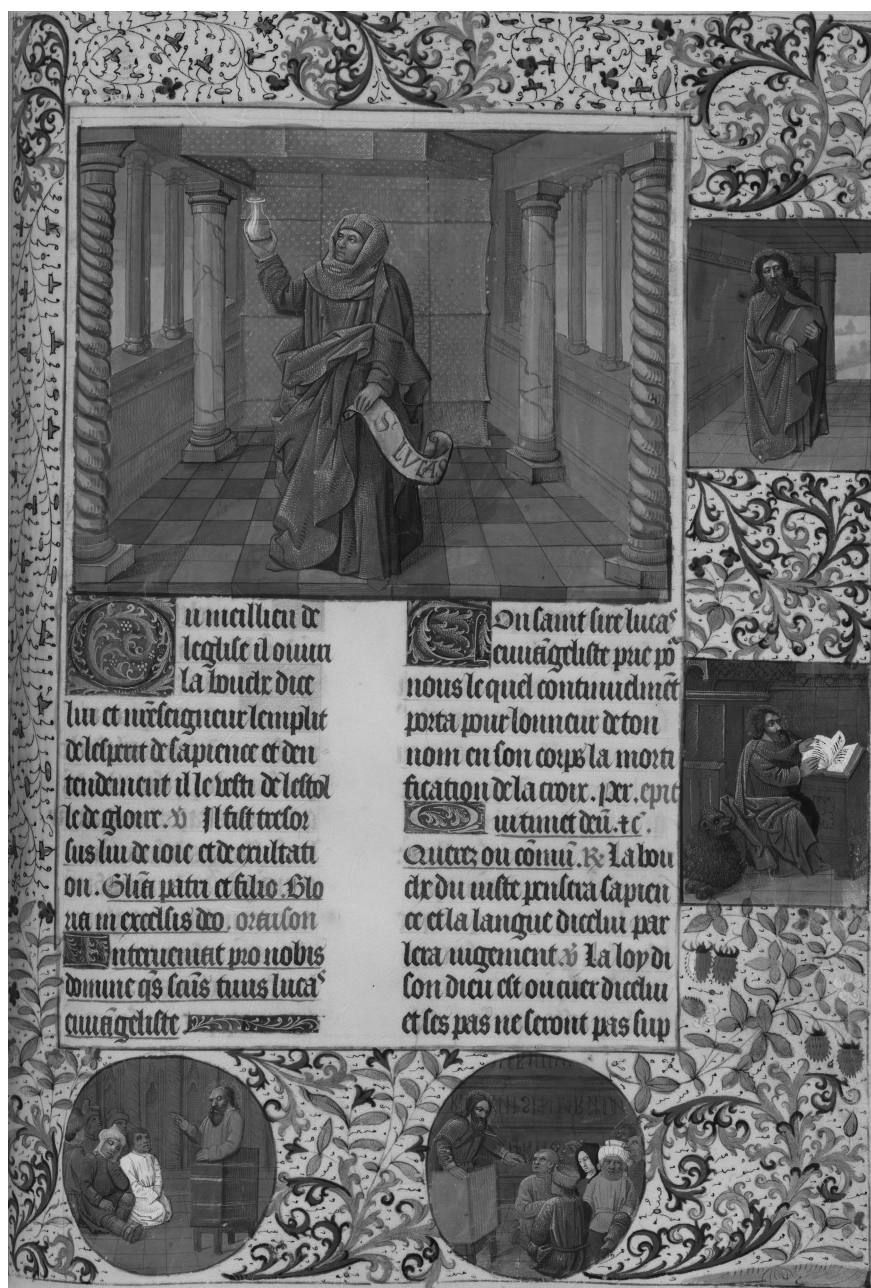


Figure 3.3 Luke holds a flask and scroll, Feast of Luke, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 310r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).



Figure 3.4 Circumcision of John the Baptist, Nativity of John the Baptist, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 276r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).

is absent from this representation, a speech scroll guards viewers – beyond the original owner – from misinterpreting the kneeling woman as a contemporary donor adoring Christ and honouring Mary. The illuminator did not add a scroll with Jesus's reply: 'Blessed are they who hear the word of God, and keep it'.⁶⁵ The latter quote makes another explicit textual connection between speech scrolls and the audible Latin liturgy. If added to the cycle of illustration, this statement would have had both internal coherence alongside the representation of Martilla, revealing the relationship between depicted personae, and external coherence, connecting the original viewer's devotional activity to the narrative.⁶⁶ As in the other Yale Missal miniatures with crystallised speech, Christ is silent and the Latin banderole is held by a less authoritative figure, suggesting that Christ's imperium can and does operate in the French vernacular.

Roman authority and apostolic ministry are asserted by two Latin speech scrolls at the Palm Sunday incipit, but the appearance of Latin's importance is diminished through association with questionable and low prestige activities: a hushed execution conspiracy and domestic labour (Figure 3.5). All five miniatures in the Palm Sunday illustrative cycle relate to the theme of preparation. The main miniature depicts Mary Magdalene anointing Christ with expensive perfume to herald Christ's entombment, as Jesus stated: 'For she in pouring this ointment upon my body, hath done it for my burial'.⁶⁷ The upper margin scene depicts at least ten men, including Pharisees and scribes, plotting to capture Jesus (Figure 3.5). One leader cautiously stipulates: 'Not on the festival day, [lest perhaps there should be a tumult among the people]'.⁶⁸ Here, planning to conceal injustice utilises the imperial Latin tongue for a collective decision not to attract unnecessary attention while removing a threat to socio-political power. Since only the Romans, instead of the local authorities, held the legal right to execute criminals in their ancient colonies, these Pharisees and scribes appear linguistically conflated with the Roman government.

Another dialogue banderole with monumentally-inspired script signifying ancient imperial propaganda is associated with fishermen from Galilee asking about a holiday dinner. Instead of Jesus himself requesting Passover preparations in Latin while his disciples follow every authoritative word in the lower side margin of the Palm Sunday incipit, one of Jesus's disciples requested directions on organising the Passover feast: 'Where wilt thou that we prepare [for thee to eat the pasch (or Passover)]?'⁶⁹ (Figure 3.5) Three others cluster behind the questioner who points toward Christ, standing before an elaborately articulated wall with thin, engaged columns and two registers of sculpted epigraphic ornament. By illustrating this exchange and the narrative roundels where they follow Christ's directions, the artist ennobles tasks associated with arranging a meal. Perhaps the Latin scroll highlighting apostolic feast preparation refers to clergy, emulating the original disciples, who perpetually re-enact the Last Supper in the Eucharistic sacrament on a draped altar similar to the table depicted in the left roundel.⁷⁰ Despite the fact that this scroll with Latin emphasises clerical activity, the preferences given to French in the manuscript's format and contents marginalise the audible rite and privilege the illustrated text.

Representing foreign texts in an elite vernacular book

The Passover meal planning miniature contains two modes of text representation: the speech scrolls' clear Roman majuscule and the wall friezes' orientalised ornamental epigraphy (Figure 3.5).⁷¹ The pseudo-alphabetical majuscules compare to the right

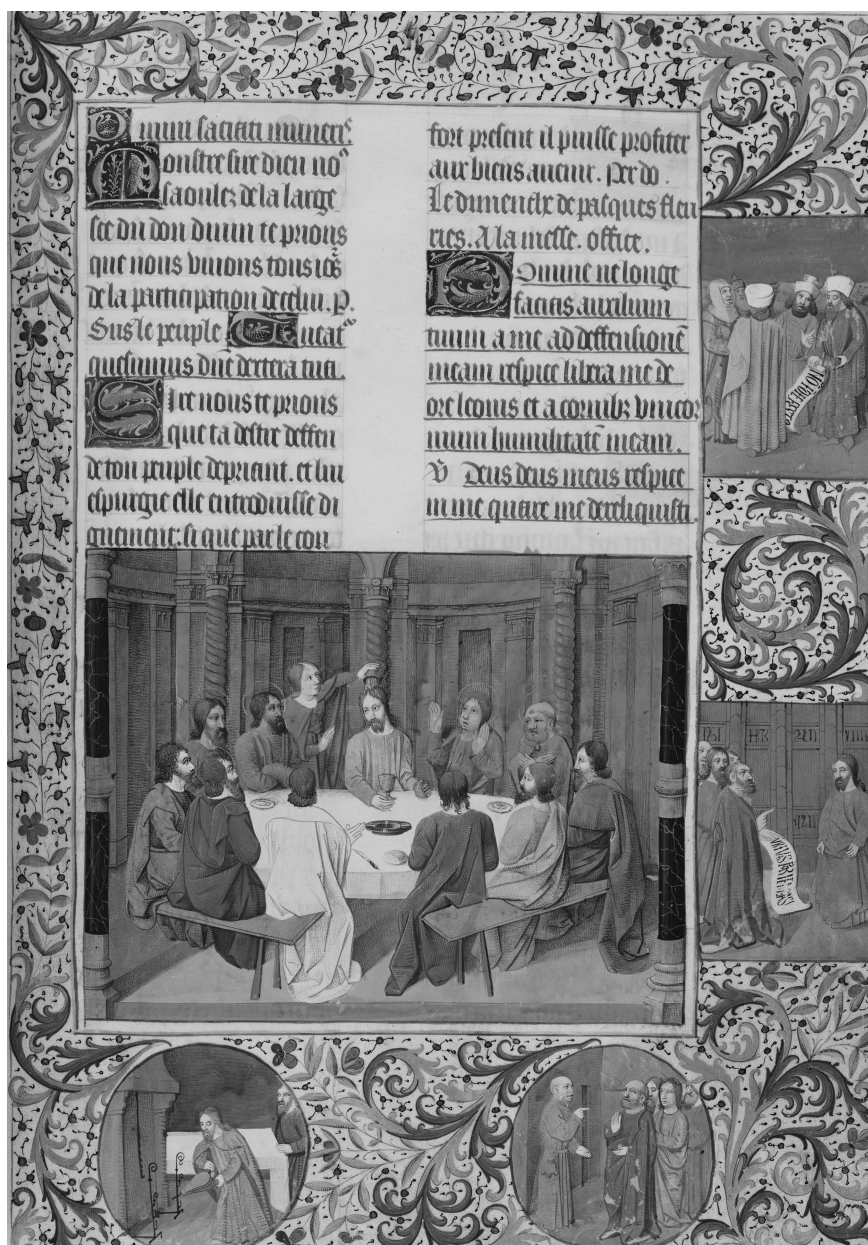


Figure 3.5 Magdalene anoints Jesus's head, Palm Sunday, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 113r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).

roundel at Luke's feast incipit, where the Yale Missal's use of opaque text resonates with the unavoidable language barriers that form a backdrop for preaching throughout the world (Figure 3.3). The Eastern-inspired wall decoration at Passover serves to link the Hebrew apostles, following God's commands through Moses,⁷² to later Catholic clergy in their ritual practices (Figure 3.5). Both these marginal miniatures with orientalist majuscules offer a clear iconographical reference to enrich the potential range of meanings for the images. The monumental background letters in these preaching and preparation border miniatures were intentionally and unconditionally indecipherable (Figures 3.3 and 3.5). Following Wood's recent work on fiction, unidentifiable signs can be called 'alien' signifiers that force the viewer to distinguish between 'sense and nonsense'.⁷³ He recognised, 'illegible script ... [is] the image of authority itself'.⁷⁴ Although the Luke and Palm Sunday feast incipits have large-scale friezes of orientalist scripts⁷⁵ on interior walls in the background of border miniatures, the Yale Missal Master did not always marginalise indecipherable texts or exclusively use them for vignettes that evoke the 'long ago' and 'far away'.⁷⁶

Unusual alphabets reminded fifteenth-century French audiences primarily of Near Eastern cultures, and Yale Missal miniatures generally follow this stereotype. At the Yale Missal's Pentecost incipit, the Holy Spirit descends in a Jerusalem interior whose colonnade partially masks walls ornamented with pseudo-script that might represent a monumentalised Hebrew frieze (Figure 3.6). This pictorial device emphasises an exotic locale for residents of central France and underscores cultural Otherness through script that would puzzle a reader sincerely trying to understand all aspects of this macaronic book.⁷⁷ Instead of manifesting the apostles' miraculous linguistic gifts in Jerusalem cityscapes, the artist represents all five scenes indoors and uses fanciful epigraphic wall friezes to reference languages heard during the original Pentecost. Ancient forms of the Hebrew, Greek, Persian, Arabic, Egyptian and Latin languages as well as the rarer Elamite, Phrygian and Pamphylian tongues were reported.⁷⁸ Monumentalised, unknown letters also evoke places beyond the boundaries of first-century Hebrew culture in the Yale Missal: Matthew orders the dragons of Ethiopian sorcerers to flee while standing in an interior with bands of script and Jude Thaddeus counsels Babylonians that Indians will seek peace as he points to two idols by a half wall with a nonsensical epigraphic frieze.⁷⁹ Accordingly, the unfamiliar signifiers in the Yale Missal can represent multiple languages that use non-Roman alphabets.

Perhaps the most surprising interior with impenetrable texts comes from a locality that was not exotic for late medieval French culture: Rome. The Common of Apostles opens with a subdivided large miniature that depicts Paul writing lines and dots on a parchment while sitting before an orientalist wall frieze (Figure 3.7). The Ephesians at right receive his letter and the viewer notes an illegible inscription on the folded document's exterior. Paul's Hebrew heritage and writings conserved in Greek would seem to justify indecipherable letters.⁸⁰ Eastern scripts could belong on the scroll; however, Paul wrote Ephesians while under house arrest in Rome⁸¹ and nonsense majuscules do not harmonise with what might reasonably be anticipated home decoration in the Latin-speaking world. Since the Master of the Yale Missal used interior settings for the streets of Jerusalem in the Pentecost incipit's border scenes (Figure 3.6), continuity errors are possible in this cycle of over five hundred miniatures. Perhaps these letter forms should be dismissed as a simple illuminator's mistake but, whether fully intentional or not, this example of artistic license is telling. The Yale Missal Master's

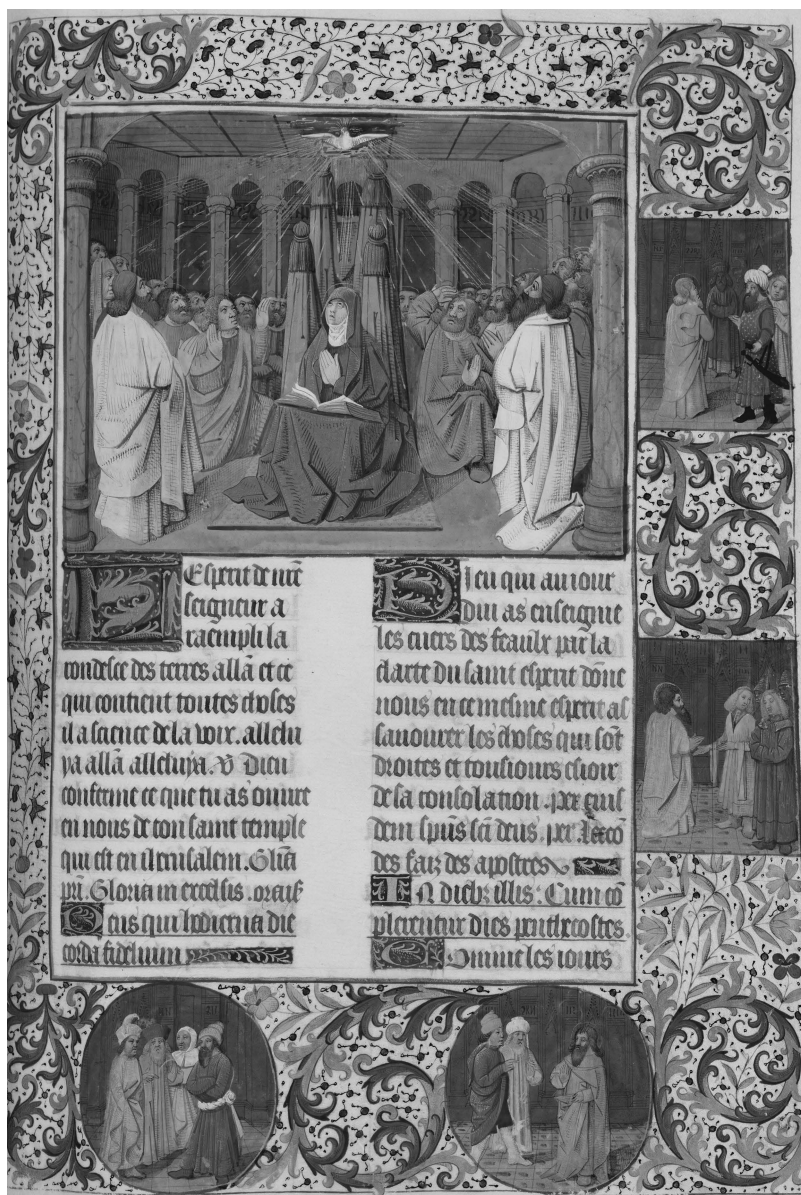


Figure 3.6 Pentecost, Feast of Pentecost, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 183r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).

rendition of Paul's prison effectively orientalised Rome; the predominately conscientious depiction of key narrative details throughout the manuscript's extensive and innovative miniature cycle argues against dismissing its significance. The Yale Missal Master, furthermore, was neither the only nor the first French artist to orientalise



Figure 3.7 Paul writes and Ephesians read, Common of Apostles, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 320v (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).

Rome by treating this ancient pagan culture as Other. Villard de Honnecourt's sketch-book refers to the sculpted ensemble for a Roman sarcophagus as a so-called Saracen work.⁸² Although the Yale Missal's use of indecipherable script does not imply such a precise cultural reference, it does successfully communicate that certain information is intended to remain unknown. This representation of Rome as Other worked alongside the Yale Missal Master's efforts to marginalise and supersede the cultural authority of Rome throughout the manuscript by asserting the high status of French language and art through an elaborate version of the mass book that could rival or surpass most altar missals.

The Yale Missal's orientalised epigraphy constitutes pseudo-alphabetical interpolations, contrasting with the Latin-language speech scrolls that repeat essential content found in the French missal translation. These alien signs suggest that particular elements of foreign, antique culture do not need to be transmitted for the benefit of contemporary readers. The nonsense letters seem to argue that later ascendant cultures may use judicious choices when determining what their *translatio studii* preserves. Authors, patrons and designers help decide how to edit ancient learning while taking part in translation, which is one core mechanism that helps elevate rising nations.⁸³ While inscrutable script in Yale Missal miniatures cloaks or camouflages aspects of the distant past, one example of Latin epigraphy introduces a text, drawn from outside the missal, recognising the Virgin Mary (Figure 3.8). The gilt Latin inscription on the upper room's frieze at the Maundy Thursday incipit reads: 'O Mother of God [who is] with me, benign Mother of the Redeemer, Hail'.⁸⁴ Although this text is framed by brief salutations, the central phrase was a seasonal antiphon in the Hours or Office of the Virgin traditionally used from the beginning of Advent until before the Presentation feast.⁸⁵ The preparatory and penitential seasons of Advent and Lent are brought together in this juxtaposition; furthermore, Mary is included directly through this text. Her presence is implied twice in the miniature of the Last Supper because Mary appears as the material source of the incarnate God's human body and as a symbol for the entire church that will celebrate at the end of time by drinking wine during the heavenly wedding feast.⁸⁶ This epigraphic interpolation highlights the prayer cycles of monastic offices recited daily that frame and complement the mass liturgy. The antiphon text on this frieze demonstrates how the Yale Missal Master incorporated novel content and helped choose what to conceal or repeat during the French culture's extensive *translatio studii* process.

The layering of these Latin-language Marian phrases included without translation in architectural ornament and the Eucharistic texts that were accompanied by Franco-phone adaptation in the Yale Missal illustrate how, as Mehrez theorised, 'postcolonial plurilingual texts ... demand of their readers to be like themselves: "in between"'.⁸⁷ Enlarging critical perspective from unqualified focus on the French character of the Yale Missal is thus fundamental to understanding the work of both scribe and artist. In view of the roots of the *translatio studii* and historical settings for Christianity, Derrida recognised profound structures 'internal to the Graeco-Latino-Christiano-Gallic culture'.⁸⁸ The Yale Missal's multilingual liturgical texts represent these cultural lines of transmission, inviting and expecting the reader to navigate in French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Following Benjamin's perceptive assertion that scripture is 'unconditionally translatable' in general,⁸⁹ particular words and phrases in the Yale Missal were simply transliterated from a non-Roman language directly into French. The use of multiple languages in the Latin mass book as well as the Yale Missal translation seems

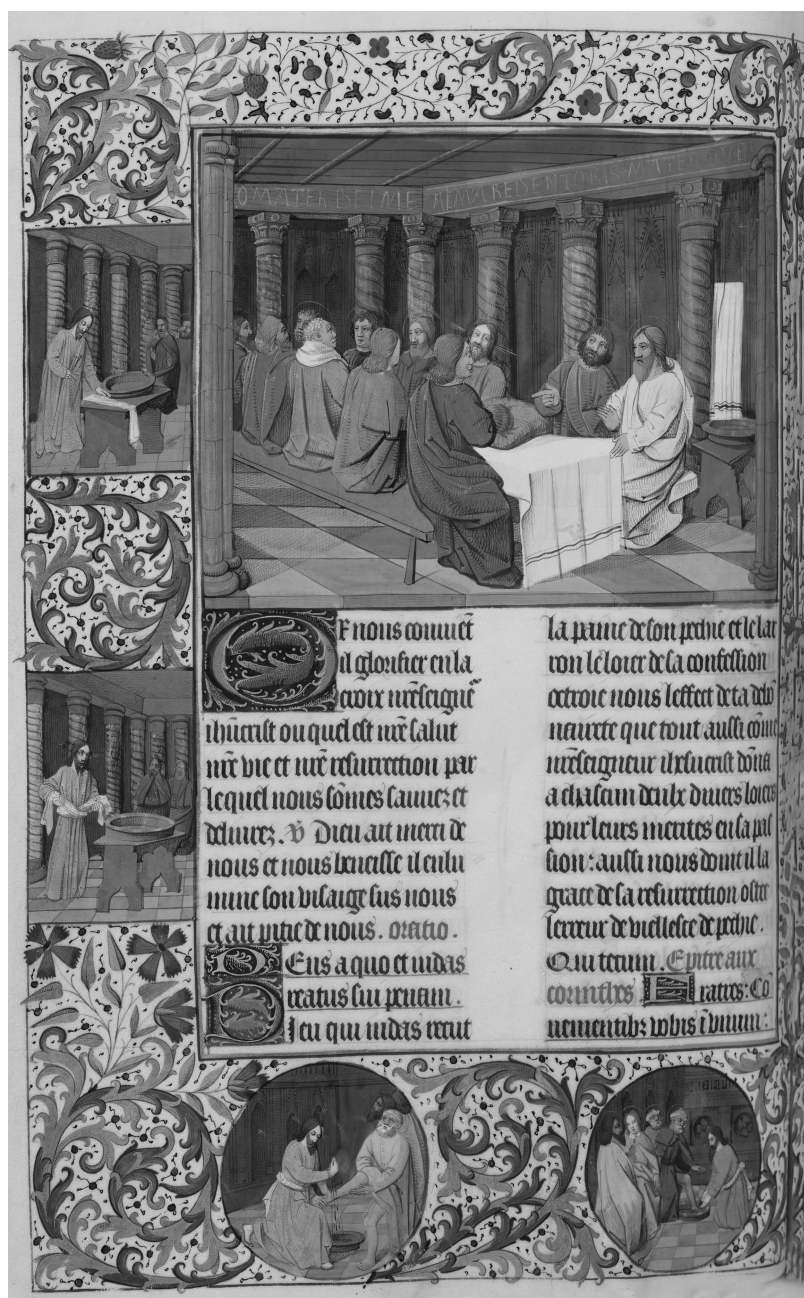


Figure 3.8 Last Supper, Maundy Thursday, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425, fol. 133v (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).

to illustrate Derrida's notion that 'No such thing as *a* language exists'.⁹⁰ Derrida also suggests there is potential unity underlying multilingualism: 'Some even write several languages at a time ... with a view to an absolute idiom'.⁹¹ The plurilingual missal features what might be considered the most appropriate and profound expressions in various historical and contemporary tongues. The Greek phrase, 'Kyrieleyson [sic]',⁹² incorporated into the Yale Missal's Canon of the Mass has conserved both its form and meaning, 'Lord have mercy'. It remains comprehensible as simply 'Kyrie' in Latin, French and English. One Hebrew phrase often transliterated in the Yale Missal is 'alleluya' (Figure 3.6: col. 1, lines 4 and 6–7). This interjection may be translated as 'Praise the Lord', but this phrase has become seamlessly integrated into multiple European lexicons. Conserving Hebrew is essential to demonstrate a connection to the divine because God recorded core laws on the stone tablets Moses received in this language.⁹³ The Yale Missal's non-Romance expressions, communicating a request for mercy and statement of devotion in the above cases, stand as authenticating linguistic vestiges of the mass text's ultimate origins. Such hybridity appears to situate church culture as universal, and the Francophone missal brings untranslated references into the increasingly illustrious French vernacular in ways that resonate with Mehrez's work on postcolonial texts.⁹⁴

Select Latin words also remain habitually fixed in their original form throughout the Yale Missal's liturgical text, despite the fact that full translation is the predominant rule. 'Gloria' and 'per', among other examples, directly relate to the power of Rome. These words stem, on one hand, from the Roman Empire's military might and, on the other hand, from the Roman church's authority. The notion of glory is echoed before the mass's first prayer (Figure 3.1: col. 2, lines 3–7; and Figure 3.2: col. 1, line 12), proclaiming the church's qualified usurpation and modified perpetuation of the ancient Roman imperium. The closing prayer formula, usually abbreviated as 'per [Christum]' and translated 'through Christ' (Figure 3.2: col. 2, line 6), is retained in Latin to assert the significance of clerical benediction and oversight for this translation. These morphological relics serve to buttress the status of French as a hybrid language appropriating illustrious expressions during the *translatio studii*.

The image of mature wine metaphorically resonates with the growth of French through the monumental task of translating the mass, which helps assert this vernacular's place among historically illustrious languages. Accomplishing ambitious translation goals and masterfully incorporating archaic expressions into a developing vernacular parallels gathering, crushing and transforming grapes into wine over time. Noting the reverberations of ancient authoritative languages throughout the Yale Missal translation is like a wine connoisseur's review of distinctive flavour elements in a particular vintage to acknowledge its quality and depth. The Yale Missal includes an atypical wine-making story that manifests how content is characteristically repeated and selectively concealed, or echoed and camouflaged. Christ's directions in French and the actions of anonymous servants pouring water and drawing forth wine at the wedding feast in Cana illustrate this miracle in the Yale Missal (Figure 3.9).⁹⁵ Latin is not needed to help communicate the wine transformation process in this case, so the Latin source is being visually obscured. Unlike the absence of Latin at the Canon of the Mass in the Yale Missal, the omission here passes almost unnoticed because French fills the void and Latin is being marginalised. Just as the illuminator refrains from placing Latin-language speech scrolls into Christ's hands in all the miniatures discussed above, the vernacular Gospel text and miniatures conveyed this story to the

Figure 3.9 Wedding at Cana, First Sunday after the octave of Epiphany, Yale Missal, 1460s. New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 425, fol. 31r (photograph: courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).

original owner. Although the priest's Latin incipit cues, mass lections' biblical dialogue and Roman closing formulas echo throughout the multilingual Yale Missal, Christ himself is only depicted in this manuscript speaking the contemporary language of the French to authenticate an elite vernacular.

Notes

- 1 For his artistic oeuvre of courtly and sacred manuscripts, see Margaret E. Hadley, 'The Yale Missal (Beinecke MS 425): Mendicant Spirituality and a Vernacular Mass Book from the Fouquet Circle' (New Haven: Yale University, PhD dissertation; Ann Arbor: UMI, 2007), 25–9 and 64–9. A conventional name has enabled historians to discuss this collective grouping of hands for decades. A succinct review of recent connoisseurial work on the topic is found in Margaret E. Hadley, 'Cradle and Grave: Commemorating Individual Victims of Infant Mortality', in *The Early Modern Child in Art and History*, ed. Matthew Knox Averett (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2015, and Routledge, 2016), 25 and 191 n. 31.
- 2 Although artist and patron began a campaign of unprecedented pictorial invention, finances may have dwindled because some of the miniatures were completed later. If paintings by the Yale Missal Master's known contemporary collaborators and minor repainting in the landscapes of several large miniatures are excluded, twenty border scenes and sixteen large miniatures were finished by later hands; Hadley, 'The Yale Missal', 49–53 and 57–63.
- 3 For information on other extant French-language missals, see Hadley, 'The Yale Missal', 104–17.
- 4 For the notion of an illustrious vernacular, see Dante Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia*, trans. Steven Botterill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 38 and 41.
- 5 The Yale Missal speech scrolls under consideration are not iconographic commonplaces, like the 'AVE MARIA' scroll held by Gabriel in the historiated initial at the Annunciation opening in the St Petersburg French Missal, St Petersburg, National Library of Russia Fr. Q. v. I, 2, fol. 136r.
- 6 The concept of the *translatio studii et imperii* has been traced at least as far back as St Jerome. Jerome thought the Roman Empire would continue until the end of time; however, the notion of ongoing transfers of imperium was acknowledged by the Venerable Bede and, among others, several authors discussed below. Papal documents also disseminated teaching about transfers of empire by the 1200s. In the High Middle Ages, thus, one sees the presence, diffusion and potential influence of this idea. P.A. van den Baar, *Die Kirchliche Lehre der Translatio Imperii Romani bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Rome: Universitatis Gregoriana, 1956), v and 148–9; Werner Goetz, *Translatio Imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1958), 12–13, 27, 51–2 and 72–3.
- 7 Homi K. Bhabha, 'Signs taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817', *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 116 and 119–20.
- 8 Jacques Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other; or, The Prosthesis of Origin*, trans. Patrick Mensah (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 65; Samia Mehrez, 'Translation and the Postcolonial Experience: The Francophone North African Text', *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (New York: Routledge, 1992), 124 and 128.
- 9 Michael Camille, 'The Language of Images in Medieval England, 1200–1400', in *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400*, ed. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (London: Royal Academy of Arts, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), 39.
- 10 'un langage noble et commun a genz de grant engin et de bonne prudence', *Le Livre de Ethiques d'Aristote*, ed. Albert Menut (New York: G.E. Stechert, 1940), 101; also Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 134 and 255 n. 20; Serge Lusignan, *La Langue des rois au Moyen Âge: Le Français en France et en Angleterre* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2004), 124.

- 11 Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages*; Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274–1422* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Serge Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement: Les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986).
- 12 *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. Paulin Paris, vol. 1 (Paris: J. Techener, 1836), xxiii–xxiv. See François Avril, *Jean Fouquet: Peintre et enlumineur du XVe siècle* (Ghent: Hazan, 2003), 219.
- 13 'En trois régions ont habité en divers tems: en Grèce régnèrent premièrement; car en la cité d'Athènes fut jadis le puis de philosophie, et en Grèce la fleur de chevalerie. De Grèce vinrent puis à Rome: de Rome sont en France venues'. *Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. Paris, vol. 1, 4. See also Hedeman, *The Royal Image*, 5 and 275–6 n. 35.
- 14 'Allegat ergo pro se lingua oīl quod propter sui faciliorem ac delectabiliorem vulgaritatem quicquid redactum est sive inventum ad vulgare prosaycum, suum est: videlicet Biblia cum Troianorum Romanorumque gestibus compilata et Arturi regis ambages pulcerrime et quamplures alie ystorie ac doctrine'. Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia*, 22–3.
- 15 Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages*, 135.
- 16 The adjective vernacular was originally used to denote what belonged to household 'slaves' or the 'rabble' and something '[n]ative, domestic, indigenous[,] ... natural, [and] common'. See Charleton Lewis and Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary* (New York: American Book Co., 1879), 1974. Using the word vernacular to describe languages other than Latin continues to support an antique, imperialistic worldview. Thus, a denigration of things 'vernacular' is inherent in the conventional term still used for lack of a viable alternative in modern English.
- 17 'Not for the lerid bot for the lewed, / For tho that in this land won / That the Latyn no Frankys con', Robert Mannyng, 'Chronicle: Prologue', in *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor and Ruth Evans (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 20–1, lines 8–10.
- 18 Hadley, 'The Yale Missal', 126–62.
- 19 See Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BNF) n.a.fr. 4508. Jean de Vignay is also cited in fifteenth-century copies' colophons: BNF fr. 22890 and BNF fr. 22936; Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1868), 14 and 27–8; Samuel Berger, *La Bible Française au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1884), 224–5, 227–8 and 415; Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V*, vol. 1 (Paris: H. Champion, 1907), 160–2; Geoffrey W.H. Lampe, *Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 439.
- 20 Gabriel Peignot, *Catalogue d'une partie des livres composant l'ancienne bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne de la dernière race, d'après des inventaires de leurs meubles au XVe siècle* (Paris: J. Renouard, 1830), 16 and 51; also Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, vol. 1, 27–8. The patronage of royal women who originally underwrote missal translation was continued by the kings, dukes, officials and merchants convincingly documented as owners of this rare text in the later fourteenth and fifteenth century; see Hadley, 'The Yale Missal', 101–17. The translation was commercially available in fifteenth-century Tours, so its audience may have become even more diverse; see Achille Chéreau, *Catalogue d'un marchand libraire du XVe siècle tenant boutique à Tours* (Paris: Académie des bibliophiles, 1868), 7–9, 11 and 17.
- 21 Walter Benjamin, 'The Task of the Translator', *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 81.
- 22 Ananya Jahanara Kabir, 'Analogy in Translation: Imperial Rome, Medieval England, and British India', in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 194.

- 23 Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams, 'Introduction: A Return to Wonder', in *Post-colonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages*, ed. Kabir and Williams, 6.
- 24 *Écriture et Enluminure en Lorraine au Moyen Âge*, ed. Jacques Choux, Hubert Collin, Simone Collin-Roset, Michel Parisse, Monique Paumier-Foucart and Guy Vaucl (Nancy: Société Thierry Alix, 1984), 213–15.
- 25 Bhabha, 'Signs Taken for Wonders', 116 and 119–20.
- 26 Emphasis on evidence from material culture is one strength of the useful collaborative volume edited by Kabir and Williams, which was recognised in the editors' introduction and Ato Quayson's epilogue. Kabir and Williams, 'Introduction: A Return to Wonder', 1–7, 11–13; Ato Quayson, 'Translations and Transnationals: Pre- and Postcolonial', in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages*, ed. Kabir and Williams, 254–62.
- 27 Bhabha, 'Signs Taken for Wonders', 116 and 119–20.
- 28 Benjamin, 'The Task of the Translator', 69 and 82.
- 29 Benjamin, 'The Task of the Translator', 76.
- 30 Mehrez, 'Translation and the Postcolonial Experience', 122.
- 31 Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other*, 14.
- 32 Beinecke MS 425, fol. 151r: 'Cy ne sont pas mises les parolles du sacrement du corps' and 'Cy ne sont pas mises les parolles du sacrement du sang'. Similar rubrics are found at the consecration prayers in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. lat. 1958, fol. 108r (hereafter the Vatican French Missal); BNF fr. 180, fol. 81r; Pont-à-Mousson, Bibliothèque municipale MS 1, fol. 123v; St Petersburg, National Library of Russia Fr. Q. v. I, 2, fol. 79v. The Keble College French Missal's Canon was expunged, being replaced by the *Pater noster* prayer in translation, and at least two folios were removed from that part of the manuscript: Oxford, Keble College MS 38, fol. 189v. Brussels's Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique MS 5513–17 has no translated Canon, but the liturgy for Maundy Thursday contains the biblical consecration formula, fol. 158v.
- 33 Peignot, *Catalogue d'une partie des livres*, 16 and 51; 1404 inventory: 'La plus grant partie des cayers d'un Messel translaté de latin en françois, lequel fist faire feu la Royne Blanche et lequel a esté laissé à parfaire, pour ce que on dit qu'il n'est pas expédient de translater tel liure, en especial le saint canon'. The 1477 inventory, 'Vng liure escript en parchemin, contenant vng Missel en françois, non relyé', may be translated: 'An unbound book written on parchment, containing a missal in French'.
- 34 See Beinecke MS 425: Palm Sunday, fol. 115r; Holy Tuesday, fol. 123v; Holy Wednesday, fols 129r–v; Maundy Thursday, fol. 134r; Corpus Christi feast, fols 357r–8v.
- 35 Hadley, 'The Yale Missal', 165–8.
- 36 French missal translation was considered unfinished: Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, vol. 1, 27–8. Erased Canon translations are illustrated: L.M.J. Delaissé, 'A Liturgical Problem at the End of the Middle Ages: The "Missale Gallicum"', in *Litterae Textuales: Essays Presented to G.I. Lieftinck*, ed. J.P. Gumbert and M.J.M. de Haan, vol. 4 (Amsterdam: Van Gendt, 1976), 22–5. Rubrics stating omissions have been published: Walter Cahn and James Marrow, 'Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at Yale: A Selection', *Yale University Library Gazette* 52 (1978), 252.
- 37 Bastarda, also known as Hybrida, was often used in vernacular manuscripts; it presents a cross between Textualis, formal calligraphic script, and Cursiva, cursive book hand.
- 38 Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, repr. 2005), 72–5, 123–5, 130–2, 142–3 and 163–4. For the transcription of a contrasting Cursiva script, see Margaret E. Hadley, 'Residential College Rules in Leipzig in the Early Sixteenth Century: The Poem *Carmen statuta comprehendens modumque vivendi honestum scholarium sive studentum* (Beinecke MS 209)', in *New Studies on Yale Manuscripts from the Late Antique to the Early Modern Period*, *Yale University Library Gazette, Occasional Supplement* 7 (2005), ed. Robert Babcock, 129–45. The Yale Missal also contains a few cursive notes beyond the ruled areas on fols 29r, 88v, 96r, 202r and 357r; see Hadley, 'The Yale Missal', 39.
- 39 Leiden, University Library Cod. lat. Voss. 79, fol. 7r. See the text illustration in Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1969; repr. New York: Icon Edition, 1972), 107.

- 40 Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Charlotte Denoël, *Trésors carolingiens: Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve* (Antwerp: Deckers Druk, 2007), 157, cat. 34. The BNF maintains this exhibition's virtual incarnation with the relevant *Martinellus* folio on the following web page: <http://expositions.bnf.fr/carolingiens/grand/034.htm>, (accessed December 2016).
- 41 Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, repr. 1997) 206–7; Laffitte and Denoël, *Trésors carolingiens*, 151–3.
- 42 Michael Camille, 'Visualizing in the Vernacular: A New Cycle of Early Fourteenth-Century Bible Illustrations', *The Burlington Magazine* 130 (1988), 97.
- 43 Vatican French Missal, fol. 3r; see an illustration of the First Sunday of Advent incipit in Delaissé, 'A Liturgical Problem at the End of the Middle Ages', 20, fig. 2. This manuscript may have been used by friars or nuns. Karl Christ correctly identified its Dominican liturgy; Karl Christ, *Die altfranzösischen Handschriften der Palatina* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1916), 44. Drapeau analysed the Vatican manuscript; Benoît Drapeau, 'Les Traductions françaises de l'«Ordinaire de la Messe» jusqu'à la fin du XVIIe siècle', 2 vols. (Paris: Institut Catholique, PhD dissertation, 1971). Parkes recognised the Oxford copy as Dominican; Malcolm Parkes, *The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College, Oxford* (London: Scholar Press, 1979), 165. Hadley, 'The Yale Missal', 106 and 109.
- 44 Leroquais notes a fourteenth-century missal at Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 5122, as a representative example. In addition to full-page miniatures prefacing the Canon of the Mass, depicting the *Crucifixion* and the *Lord in Majesty surrounded by Evangelist Symbols*, a typical complete programme of historiated initials in priests' missals of the later Middle Ages included: celebrant in prayer, Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, offering the Chalice and Host, Church and Synagogue, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, Elevation of the Host, Martyrdom of Andrew, Purification, Annunciation, Invention of the Cross, Birth of John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, James Major, Lawrence, Assumption, Bartholomew, Louis, Birth of the Virgin, Michael, Denis and his companions, Peter and Paul, All Saints and two martyrdom scenes. Victor Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 1 (Mâcon: Protat Frères, 1924), xxxiv. Hadley, 'The Yale Missal', 165.
- 45 The Yale Missal's 359 vellum folios measure 360 by 260 mm.
- 46 His teacher Fouquet was a master of monumental painting, even when utilising miniature scale. See Henri Focillon, 'Le style monumental dans l'art de Jean Fouquet', *Gazette des beaux-arts* 15 (1936), 17–32.
- 47 Vatican French Missal; Keble College French Missal; Yale Missal; St Petersburg French Missal. Hadley, 'The Yale Missal', 104–17.
- 48 While Latin cues for the Offertory and Communion prayers exist, they do not appear in most instances.
- 49 Shorter portions of the mass, like the Introit, are typically introduced with a roughly five-word cue; longer sections, such as the Gospel lection, often have a dozen Latin words to evoke a specific passage before giving the vernacular translation. 'Et cetera' is used at the end of many Latin incipits, as opposed to a French-language phrase indicating that the celebrant will continue speaking Latin.
- 50 Psalm 24:15; 'Mes yeulx soient tousiours a nostre seigneur car il estachera mes piez du lacz', Beinecke MS 425, fol. 74r. English bible quotations use the Douay Rheims version.
- 51 Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages*, 1–8 and 135.
- 52 Delaissé Papers, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Modern Papers Dep. C. 419; Hadley, 'The Yale Missal', 59 n. 62.
- 53 Christopher Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 289 and 295–6.
- 54 The INRI titulus on the cross, painted by Jean Colombe or an associate (Beinecke MS 425, fol. 135v), gives a formal judicial charge in Latin: Iesus Nazarenus, Rex Iudaeorum. Here, the reported crime punished by Roman power ('Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews') is also a statement of church doctrine. It records a legal speech act but it is not a scroll, so the example lies beyond the scope of this argument. For a succinct discussion of the titulus's importance in medieval perspectives on language, see Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement*, 59–61.

- 55 See fol. 303r online via the Yale Library's image database. Search the Digital Collections database using the conventional misnomer 'Fouquet Missal' here: <http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/> (accessed December 2016).
- 56 In the Hours of Adelaïde of Savoy (Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 76, fol. 21r), another Fouquet follower inserted the six Sibyls' prophecies on scrolls as visual commentary on the *Obsecro te* prayer addressed to the Virgin. See Avril, *Jean Fouquet*, 398–9. Fouquet, if judged by surviving attributed works, did not use scrolls to represent dialogue. For perspectives on Fouquet's body of work, see Nicole Reynaud, *Jean Fouquet* (Paris: Louvre, 1981), 4–76; François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440–1520* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), 130–48; Claude Schaefer, *Jean Fouquet: An der Schwelle zur Renaissance* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1994), 40–262; Avril, *Jean Fouquet*, 94–269; Erik Inglis, *Jean Fouquet and the Invention of France: Art and Nation after the Hundred Years War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 9–70. Painted scrolls incorporated into Fouquet manuscripts that do not represent dialogue include patrons' mottos in the Hours of Simon de Varie (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MSS 74 G 37 and 74 G 37a; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum MS 7) and Hours of Jean Robertet (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M.834). Note also angels' banderoles in the margin of the St Martin miniature from the Hours of Etienne Chevalier. See Avril, *Jean Fouquet*, 188–91, 212 and 254–8.
- 57 Anne D. Hedeman, *Translating the Past: Laurent de Premierfait and Boccaccio's De casibus* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008), 210.
- 58 The Yale Missal Master accessed the complete Latin text by decorating Tours, Bibliothèque municipale MS 194, fol. 55r [earlier numbering: 49r]: 'Beatus venter qui te portavit et ubera quae suxisti'. See also fol. 80v [74v]: 'Non in die festo, ne forte tumultus fieret in populo' and 'Vbi uis paremus tibi comedere pascha?' And see fol. 211r [203r]: 'Iohannes est nomen eius'. Hadley, 'The Yale Missal', 267. See relevant vernacular translations in the text.
- 59 'Selon saint Luc', Beinecke MS 425, fol. 310v. The nominative form shows the master's sophistication in navigating Latin sources, because a scroll announcing 's[ecundum] lucam' would have been an overly literal transposition from his identification as Evangelist throughout the Tours, Bibliothèque municipale MS 194, original.
- 60 'Iohannes est nomen eius', Luke 1:63.
- 61 Luke 1:20.
- 62 'BEATVS VENT[er qui te portavit et ubera quae suxisti]', Luke 11:27; Beinecke MS 425, fols 75r–v: 'Beneoit soit le ventre qui te porta: et les mameles que tu as succees'.
- 63 Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 376.
- 64 Hedeman, *Translating the Past*, especially 85–127, explores the idea of visual amplification.
- 65 Luke 11:28; Beinecke MS 425, fol. 75v: 'Auec tout ce sont beneis ceulx qui oient la parole de dieu: et la gardent'. Tours, Bibliothèque municipale MS 194, fol. 55r [49r]: 'Beati qui audiunt verbum dei'. The proposed five-word scroll incipit could be reduced by abbreviations from twenty-four to fifteen characters, which is about the same number of letters used for the 'Ubi ...' banderole (Figure 3.5).
- 66 For these analytical distinctions, see Alois Riegl, *The Group Portraiture of Holland*, trans. Evelyn Kain (Los Angeles: Texts & Documents, 1999), 253.
- 67 Matthew 26:12.
- 68 'NON IN DIE FESTO [ne forte tumultus fieret in populo]', Matthew 26:5; Beinecke MS 425, fol. 114v: 'Non mie ou iour de la feste. Que par aventure il neust noise ou peuple'.
- 69 'UBI VIS PARIENDASI [(sic, read: paremus) tibi comedere pascha?]' Matthew 26:17; Beinecke MS 425, fol. 114v: 'Ou veulx tu que nous tapareillons a mengier la pasque?'
- 70 Many thanks to Eva Frojmovic for suggesting this visual comparison.
- 71 An early catalogue thought the fake script on fol. 229r included the numbers '1422' and wrongly dated the manuscript before Jean Fouquet's activity; *Catalogue illustré des livres précieux manuscrits et imprimés faisant partie de la bibliothèque de M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot*, vol. 2 (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Compagnie, 1879), 48.
- 72 See Exodus 12.
- 73 Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*, 278–9.

- 74 Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*, 279. Hamburger has argued that use of 'epigraphic display' lettering in manuscripts 'implied authority as well as authenticity'. Jeffrey Hamburger, *Script as Image* (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 33 and 37.
- 75 Since there are more than two dozen examples of unknown signifiers in the Yale Missal, this essay will not exhaustively survey the phenomenon's character and scope.
- 76 Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 55.
- 77 Fouquet himself painted representations of Hebrew and Greek, which could have inspired the Yale Missal Master. Fouquet used a three-language titulus for the Hours of Etienne Chevalier *Crucifixion* (Chantilly, Musée Condé). The Hours of Jean Robertet shows a book with majuscule Hebrew letters on Mary's prayer stand at the *Annunciation* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M.834, fol. 29r); see Avril, *Jean Fouquet*, 203 and 257; illustrated online at <http://corsair.themorgan.org/>, search 'MS M.834' for the image (accessed December 2016).
- 78 Acts 2:9–11. On Pentecost and the status of French, see Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement*, 53–9.
- 79 See fols 303r and 312r online via the Digital Collections database: <http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/>, (accessed December 2016).
- 80 Paul drafts lines left to right in the image, not right to left, so Greek is implied.
- 81 The standard preface to Ephesians demonstrates that fifteenth-century bible scholars, and the illuminators they advised, knew Paul's location: 'Hos collaudat apostolus scribens eis ab vrbe roma de carcere per tychicum diaconum'. 'The apostle in prison extols these [Ephesians], writing to them from the city of Rome through Deacon Tychicus'. *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria: Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81*, vol. 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), n.p.
- 82 BNF fr. 19093, fol. 6r: 'sepouture dun'. See illustration in Carl F. Barnes Jr, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt: A New Critical Edition and Color Facsimile* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 53–4 and colour pl. 14. Panofsky 1972, 111. An image can be found on the BNF website at <http://classes.bnf.fr/villard/analyse/c/index1.htm> (accessed December 2016).
- 83 Lusignan, *La Langue des Rois au Moyen Âge*, 124.
- 84 'O MATER DEI ME ALMA REDENTORIS MATER AVE', Beinecke MS 425, fol. 133v.
- 85 This feast variant was included in Fouquet's Hours of Etienne Chevalier (Musée Condé, Chantilly), as recently explained in Nicole Reynaud, *Jean Fouquet, Les Heures d'Etienne Chevalier* (Dijon: Editions Faton, 2006), 23 and 119–23.
- 86 Apocalypse 19:9. Christ reinforced the eschatological and symbolic importance of the wine at the end of their Passover celebration, saying in Matthew 26:29: 'I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it with you new in the kingdom of my Father'. See also Beinecke MS 425, fol. 115r: 'Et ie vous di que ie ne beuray des oreenuant [sic] de ce fruit de vigne: iusquez ie le boiue avec vous tout nouuel ou royaume de mon pere'.
- 87 Mehrez, 'Translation and the Postcolonial Experience', 122.
- 88 Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other*, 71.
- 89 Benjamin, 'The Task of the Translator', 82.
- 90 Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other*, 65.
- 91 Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other*, 67.
- 92 See Beinecke MS 425, fol. 145r.
- 93 Exodus 31:18 and 34:1.
- 94 Mehrez, 'Translation and the Postcolonial Experience', 124 and 128.
- 95 John 2:1–11.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Part 2

The location of the postcolonial



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

4 Mandeville's Jews, colonialism, certainty, and art history¹

Asa Simon Mittman

Introduction: Certitude, then and now

This essay will bring a postcolonial gaze to an eclectic array of subjects, including medieval and modern images and texts, and modern scholarship thereon. It is the result of my thinking not so much *about* medieval geographical images and texts, like the small gem that is the Psalter Map,² Matthew Paris's Map of the Holy Land,³ and the *Book of Sir John Mandeville*, to which I will shortly turn, but rather, *with* and *through* them, because doing so has led me increasingly to think about certitude, about the feeling of deeply rooted certainty (or the wilful quest to achieve it through repeated assertions thereof). There are several types of certitude that I would like to think about, here. There is the certitude of the colonial viewpoint, secure in its superiority over the Other, of the correctness of its own perspective; of the medieval geographical enterprise; and of the historical and art historical viewpoint brought thereto, ever seeking the correct answer to the 'problems' art presents, especially art of a presupposed benighted culture at a remove from our own in place or time. I will tackle each of these briefly, in an attempt to explore some of the issues that I believe underlie many discussions of medieval art, especially of medieval images of maps and monsters.⁴ In so doing, though, I hope to make a few broader assertions about the value of postcolonial thinking, within and beyond art history. I will begin, though, with a medieval book.

The assemblage of Mandeville

The *Book of Sir John Mandeville* is a baffling, frustrating text, whose putative narrator is an 'enigma for historians'.⁵ The text tells us that it is the product of 'John Mandeville, knight – although I am not worthy, born and raised in England in the town of St Albans, who from there have crossed the sea in the year 1322'.⁶ However, it is actually an assemblage of earlier texts, first rendered in Anglo-Norman French around 1350,⁷ produced by a now-anonymous author/complier, or series thereof. As Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Iain Macleod Higgins clarify, it 'is a literary pastiche ... of perhaps three dozen sources',⁸ such that "what [Mandeville] can remember" about the eastern world is drawn almost entirely from others' works'.⁹

There is, then, no 'Mandeville'; similarly, there is no singular version of 'his' *Book*.¹⁰ Its derivative nature did little to dim its popularity, however. The *Book* is often referred to (anachronistically) as a medieval bestseller, with 'popularity ... greater than that of any other prose work of the Middle Ages';¹¹ there survive some 300 manuscripts in

nine languages, all of which contain a matrix of ‘interpolations’.¹² Here, I will focus primarily on the so-called Defective, Cotton, and Egerton recensions. I chose these particular versions because they contain later accretions that substantially transform the tone of the text in the direction of certitude, accretions that were retained in the most popular subsequent versions.¹³

Mandeville and ‘tolerance’

Much scholarship on the *Book* falls into one of two camps: works that celebrate it as a notably early high-water mark of ‘tolerance’ and works that condemn its virulently anti-Jewish sentiments (though many scholars do not consider these issues). Mary B. Campbell, Iain Macleod Higgins, Stephen Greenblatt, C.W.R.D. Moseley, Caroline Bynum, and Karma Lochrie predominately support the former position, each arguing for the text’s tolerance, for its breakdown of Us/Them dichotomies, for its efforts to encompass the perspectives of others and situate the Western European Christian male perspective as one of many. Bynum summarises her view of the Mandeville narrator’s perspective as essentially relativist: ‘What is remarkable to one may be expected to another; as Mandeville observed, to the one-eyed, those with two eyes will seem deformed, and to those of other religions, Christians will be the cannibals’.¹⁴ Lochrie similarly recreates in Mandeville a sort of proto-post-modernist ‘utopia’ – to use her term – ‘a mirror society fashioned on an ... ideal’.¹⁵ To do so, she argues that Mandeville ‘implicitly critiques his anti-Judaic episodes in his book’.¹⁶ She concludes that by the end of the *Book*, ‘many fundamental Christian principles, and the presumptive superiority of Christian devotion [are] demolished’.¹⁷

These scholars all find interest, use, and merit in this curious *Book*. Mandeville’s tolerance runs sharply aground, though, each time the *Book* turns (as it does several times, and beginning within the prologue¹⁸) to descriptions of Jews. The noteworthy, if not unexpected, blind spot has been the subject of texts by Benjamin Braude (who calls such passages ‘blood-curdling’), and Geraldine Heng, who writes, ‘The *Travels*’ conscious project of relative tolerance ... must thus be read, and weighed against, the *Travels*’ unremitting virulence toward Jews, a people who seem to constitute, for the *Travels*, the one species of otherness to which no humane generosity can be shown’.¹⁹ Marcia Kupfer, discussing the presence of several non-Latin alphabets in some recensions, quips, ‘Alphabet soup does not a recipe for tolerance make’.²⁰ Miriamne Ara Krummel argues that ‘Mandeville’s desire to convert, change, and alter Otherness expresses intolerance, for in attempting to assimilate Otherness into the Mandevillean world, Mandeville is not so much trying to understand as to eliminate difference’.²¹

In an essay and an eloquent plenary at the International Medieval Congress,²² Jeffrey Jerome Cohen attempts the difficult task of finding some small middle ground between these poles, between Mandeville the open-minded ‘hedonist of knowledge’, and Mandeville the paranoid anti-Semite.²³ To do so, he reads against the text, between its lines, and unearths expressions of justifiable Jewish outrage embedded within the words of the *Book*, which perhaps unintentionally gives voice to those it seeks to abject. In essence, he answers Gayatri Spivak’s postcolonial quest for ‘a text that can “answer one back”’,²⁴ with the original text, itself.

How do we square the nearly universal tolerance evinced in the *Book* with the venomous anti-Jewish passages it simultaneously contains? In actuality, while this seems like a contradiction, the contradiction is based on modern misunderstanding of the

notion of 'tolerance' in Mandeville's time. In modern parlance, 'tolerance' is used to describe a positive appreciation of otherness. The *Oxford English Dictionary*, for example, provides the following definition: 'The action or practice of tolerating; toleration; the disposition to be patient with or indulgent to the opinions or practices of others; *freedom from bigotry* or undue severity in judging the conduct of others; forbearance; catholicity of spirit'.²⁵ Similarly, if we turn to the favourite reference tool of students – Dictionary.com – we find a current layman's definition: 'a fair, objective, and permissive attitude toward those whose opinions, practices, race, religion, nationality, etc., differ from one's own; *freedom from bigotry*'.²⁶

When we read medieval Christian sources on 'toleration' of Jews and Judaism, however, we are in a rather different world. Sara Lipton provides extensive discussion of the notion in her *Images of Intolerance*,²⁷ arguing 'Augustine ... required that Jews be maintained in a subjugated state as testimony to the fact that they had lost spiritual legitimacy and all claim to temporal authority'.²⁸ Kupfer clarifies Augustine's argument with great precision:

[T]heir blind preservation of the Law, although futile as far as their own redemption is concerned, bears spiritual fruit for the Church. Augustine's argument ... secures a place for the Jews, properly reduced to the condition of vanquished captives, ... living Jewishly for the benefit of the Church, and only to the extent that their living so benefits.²⁹

Many medieval commentators borrowed from Augustine, some with respect and others with revulsion and mockery regarding the Jews and their 'Old Law'.³⁰ This is a version of toleration not free from but *predicated upon* bigotry, not objective or permissive but subjective and subjugating. The Jew in this formulation is tolerable because he *tolerat* (Latin, *tolero*, *tolerare*), that is, he *supports* Christian scripture, but he does so while he 'gaze[s] away from it ... although he preserves the physical text, he is presented as unwilling or unable to see or benefit from the knowledge contained within'.³¹ In short, the Jews are tolerated not as an expression of 'catholicity of spirit', as the OED would have it, but 'for the use of Christians, not for their own use'.³²

Mandeville and colonial certitude

Having thus dispensed with 'tolerance', I will turn to Mandeville's certitude, which should bear on the debate sketched above. On multiple occasions throughout his text, the fictive narrator of the *Book* tells us of his ignorance: 'There are many other diverse countries and many other wonders over there that I have not seen at all, and do not know how to speak properly about'; 'I was not able to know any more about them'; 'as they say, for I have not seen it'; or yet more subtly, 'I had heard'.³³ Indeed, many of the most vehement statements regarding the veracity of the text – containing myriad marvels, more than some of its main sources³⁴ – are evidence of what Moseley calls 'the asseverating interpolations that become frequent in later texts'.³⁵ Statements added to the Middle English Egerton Manuscript that enhance this effect, include 'I John Maunde-ville ete of tham, and tharfore trowez it for sikerly it es soth [I, John Mandeville, ate of them, and therefore believe it, for certainly it is true]',³⁶ and 'Trowez all this, for sikerly I sawe it with myne eghen and mykill mare than I hafe talde yow [Believe all this, for certainly I saw it with my eyes and much more than I have told you]'.³⁷

Campbell argues that the *Book* rejects most modes of establishing its truth:

Scorning as he does, with effects already discussed, the conventional strategies of inducing belief in his readers (truth claims, refusal to report what will be too hard to credit, reliance on the *auctoritas* of his sources), he is forced to rely on a kind of proto-verisimilitude.³⁸

However, the stress on first-person observation and experience – increasingly present in later versions of the text – is just such a conventional strategy. I would argue, instead, that the narrator's confessions of uncertainty are nothing more than a 'reality effect',³⁹ to use Roland Barthes's term, no more significant than other details that establish 'proto-verisimilitude'. Cohen similarly argues that details of Mandeville's life are 'truth-effects, attaching the story to what seems a historical personage with lived experience, securing the narrative to a bulwark, a seeming veridicality', an effect furthered by very specific chronology of Mandeville's travels.⁴⁰ The following assertion about the land of Prester John provides an instructive example:

In his land there are many Christians of good faith and good law and in particular those of the same country [as Prester John], and they all commonly have their chaplains who sing the mass and make the sacrament of the altar from bread as the Greeks do. But they do not say as many things at the mass as one does over here, for they say only what Our Lord's Apostles taught them, such as Saint Peter and Saint Thomas and the other Apostles sung the mass, saying *Pater Noster* and the words with which Our Lord's body is consecrated. But we have many additions that the popes have since made about which they know nothing.⁴¹

Since there was no kingdom of Prester John,⁴² all the details about it are inventions – 'Mandeville's' or otherwise – so this level of precision is of interest. The author might merely note that in this kingdom, the priests practise Christianity a bit differently, but instead specifies, for example, that they not only follow Greek practices, but also, that 'they do not say as many things at the mass as one does over here'. This does not move the narrative forward, and is not a major point discussed further. Embedded within it, though, is an Us/Them dichotomy. Campbell argues this divide is undercut:

Mandeville's terms for West and East are 'on this half' and 'in that half'. Halves of what? Of one physical, spherical world in which the laws of nature operate unilaterally and where if one sails far enough one ends up back home.⁴³

Cohen, though, reads more closely the narrator's tale that 'I heard told when I was young [about] how a brave man once left from our regions to go explore the world',⁴⁴ and finds a different implication:

Would [Mandeville's medieval readers] have realized that Mandeville's failure was perhaps to have *almost* circled the world, but to have returned before he could arrive home by a route that would have changed his perspective, that would have queered his orientation, that would have made him see what remains stubbornly in place when a voyager who wants to 'see the world' carries with him and transports back the failings of his home?⁴⁵

One world or two? It is all a matter of perspective, of orientation.

Returning to the rich but purely invented details that fill the *Book* – indeed, the passage about the ‘brave man’ just cited has no known source⁴⁶ and may be a rare invention of the author/compiler – I find that they are somewhat analogous to Barthes’s description, in the writings of Flaubert and Michelet, of ‘details that are “superfluous” (in relation to structure)’.⁴⁷ He writes that ‘such notations are scandalous (from the point of view of structure) or, what is even more disturbing, they seem to correspond to a kind of narrative *luxury*, lavish to the point of offering many “futile” details’.⁴⁸ Such ‘useless details’,⁴⁹ though, are used by authors to ‘infuse their stories with a sense of verisimilitude’⁵⁰ – the same quality Campbell finds within the text – that produces the ‘reality effect’. Of course, medieval texts operate on principles different from those of nineteenth-century novels, such that what often strike modern readers as digressions at times swell to take over the majority of a text. However, here I mean to note not the larger patterns of digressions and textual divagations, but the parenthetical statements, the subclauses and asides filled with nuggets of detail – they use bread rather than wafers for the Eucharist. These are superfluous, in that they do not advance the main narrative, but on the other hand, are essential to the larger project of constructing the narrator as knowledgeable and reliable.

We can bring this same gaze to the images that accompany manuscripts of the *Book*, such as London, British Library Harley 3954 (East Anglia, c. 1425–50), containing the ‘Defective’ version.⁵¹ From the start, we find images of Mandeville, himself, rather than merely of the places and beings he sees. In these images, he is at times the central protagonist. On the first folio, for example, we see Mandeville twice within a simultaneous narration (Figure 4.1). To the left, he stands, well dressed and fashionable, before the gate to a city (presumably St. Albans). He wears robes with heavy, swagged sleeves indicative of wealth, a large, bejewelled necklace, and floppy hat, as he takes leave of an adoring crowd that kneels before him. To the right of the same panel, he receives a blessing from a priest. Neither of these scenes appears in the text, itself. Indeed, this manuscript does not contain the so-called preface (before the prologue), which stresses Mandeville’s origins in St. Albans, England. The image, then, provides a wealth of further details superfluous to the plot, but that help construct Mandeville, from the start, as a trustworthy and, yet more notably, *devout* narrator, as a man who, despite his evident wealth and status, still kneels humbly before the priest, on the gentle, green turf of England.

In other scenes – particularly, at times, those that might seem less credible – we see Mandeville outside the scene, in the margins, as a witness, often with his traveller’s staff, hat and bag. On folio 54v, for example, we find an impressive image of a griffin abducting a knight, complete with his armour and horse, to feed its young (Figure 4.2). The monster is grand and heraldic, and considerable attention has been paid to its representation, such that it has tri-coloured feathers, offset against its scruffy, bluish feline legs. Just below and to the left of its hind claws, pressing right up against the margin – likely not trimmed much, since the outer prickings are still clearly visible well within the current outer edge⁵² – we find Mandeville. He seems to be heading off stage right to escape, but his gaze is fixed back on the remarkable creature his witness serves to verify.

Suzanne Lewis describes a similar dynamic whereby illuminators in thirteenth-century England positioned John within and outside of the narrative of Revelation, such that his appearance becomes ‘an authenticating witness to the truth of his

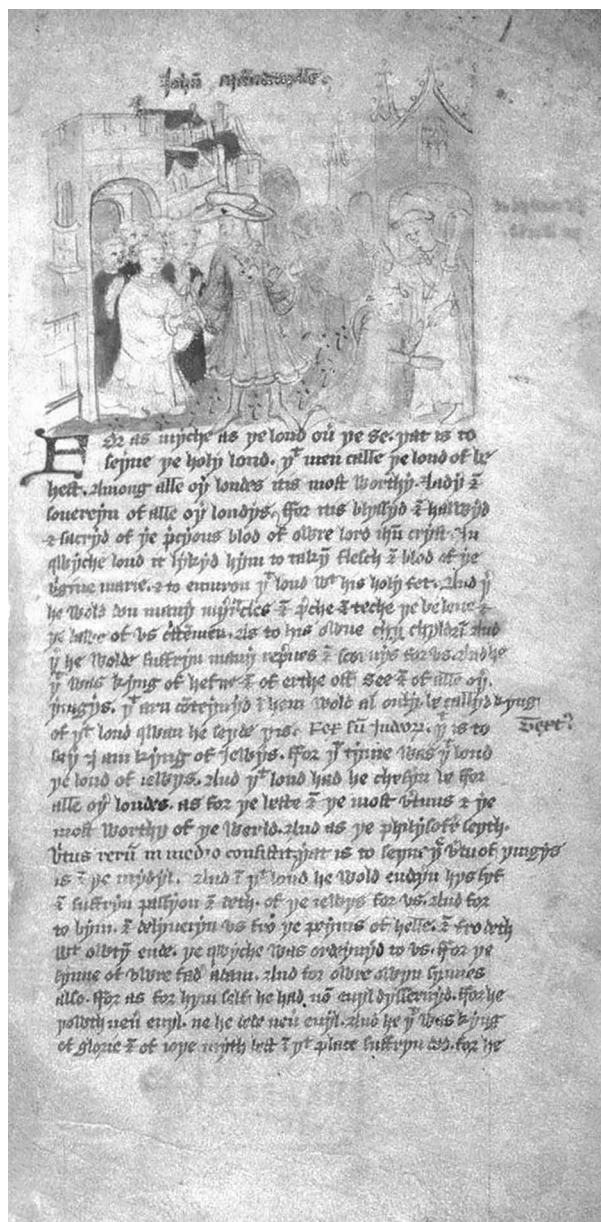


Figure 4.1 Mandeville Setting Out, Book of John Mandeville, London, British Library Harley 3954, fol. 1r, c. 1425–50 (photograph: The British Library Board, reproduced under Creative Commons).

visions'.⁵³ He even, like the figure of Mandeville beside the griffin, at times 'runs away from the violence' within the image,⁵⁴ as in an image from the Dyson Perrins Apocalypse (English, c. 1255–60) (Figure 4.3). In both cases, the witnesses – Mandeville and John – are seeing quite marvellous sights, things that even a fairly credulous audience might doubt, and so, in both cases, we find images of the witness *staring at the sight in*

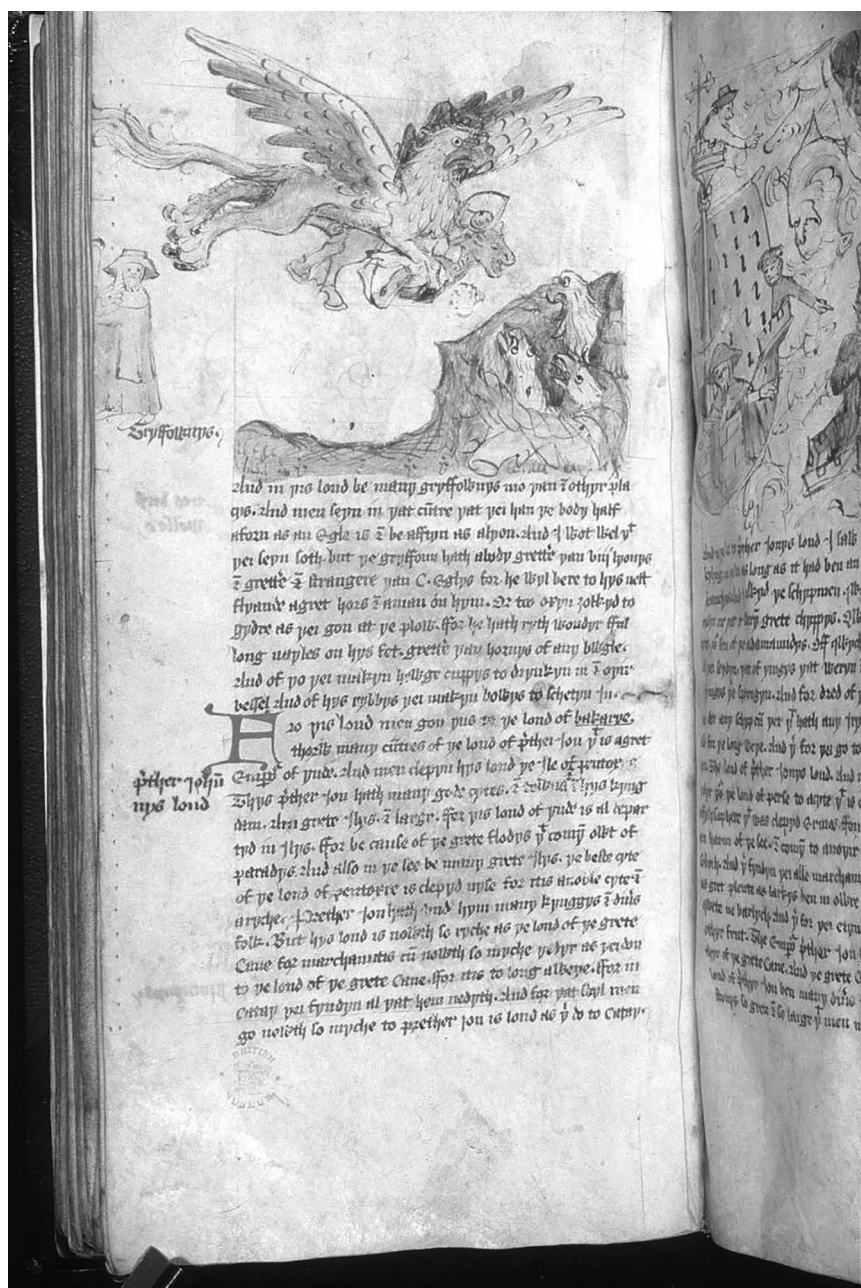


Figure 4.2 Land of the Griffins, Book of John Mandeville, c. 1425–50. London, British Library Harley 3954, fol. 54v (photograph: The British Library Board, reproduced under Creative Commons).

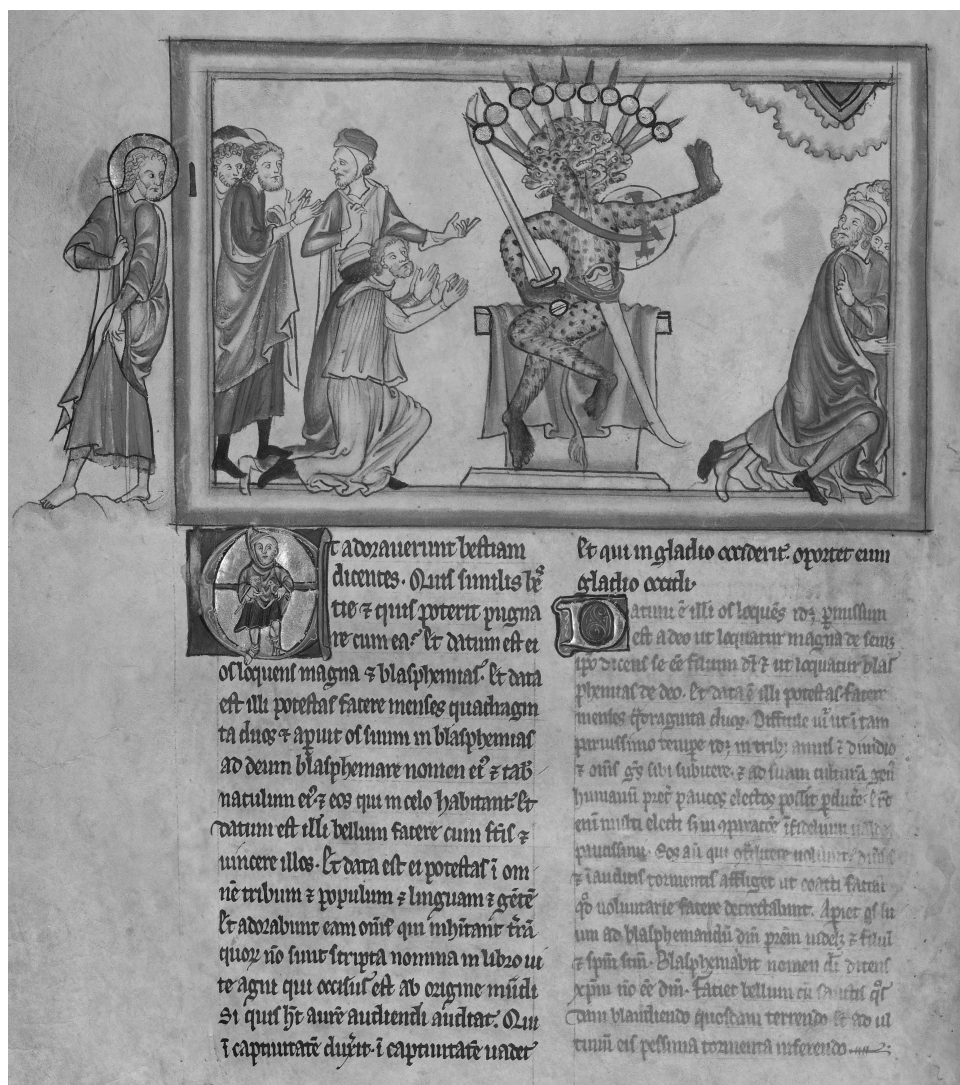


Figure 4.3 Dyson Perrins Apocalypse, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum MS Ludwig III.i, fol. 24v, English, c. 1255–60 (photograph courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program).

question. As Lewis writes, John ‘rushes away through the frame, pulling his skirts protectively around him, [but] still cannot resist turning a last, fleeting but consternated glance at the fascinating and powerful creature’⁵⁵ – the seven-headed dragon from Revelation 13:4–6; Mandeville likewise turns back in his flight to gawk at the griffin making off with horse and rider. The illuminators of these figures have both added one more detail to enhance the apparent veracity; both witnesses are shown *afraid*, in motion away, surely a rational response to either sight, and a source of identification for their viewers.

‘Affermed & preved be oure holy fader’

The very specificity of the representations, and of descriptions throughout the text, undercut the narrator's statements of modesty with which I began, statements that Moseley finds so engaging, such that ‘the diffident boasting is amusing; but gradually his trustworthiness as a guide for us in our response is built up’.⁵⁶ To the contrary, they may be seen as a necessary element, given the ‘spurious’⁵⁷ nature of his claim to be a first-hand witness. Ultimately, the diffident asides and verifying images and statements of witness are grounded in an absolute statement about the truthfulness of the *Book*; at the end of the text – after he has given accounts of the whole of the wide world, discussing routes from England to Constantinople, Greece and Cyprus, Egypt and Babylon, Jerusalem and its surroundings, Syria, Tartary, Albania and Libya, India and Java, Ceylon, Canton and Cathay, Tarshish, Prussia and Russia, Persia, Korea, the Caspian Mountains, the Kingdom of Prester John, Earthly Paradise, and many, many points in between – the Mandeville narrator asserts that we should:

Know that in *all these countries* about which I have spoken, and on *all these islands*, and amongst *all these diverse peoples* that I have described to you, and the diverse laws and the diverse beliefs they have, there is no people – because they have reason and understanding – who do not have some articles of *our faith* and some good points of *our belief* ... But they do not know how to *speak perfectly [without error]*, for they have no one to explain it to them, except insofar as they understand it with their natural understanding.⁵⁸

Further, in both the Defective and Egerton manuscripts,⁵⁹ we find another addition in a position of great significance; just before the final paragraph of the work, the author grants it papal approval:

I made my way in my commyng hamward unto Rome to schew my buke till oure haly fader the Pape. And I tald him the mervailles whilk I had sene in diverse cun-treez, so that he with his wise counsaile wald examine it with diverse folke that er in Rome, for thare er evermare dwelland men of all naciouns of the werld. And a lytill after when he and his wise counsaile had examinde it all thurgh, he said to me for certayne that all was soth that was therin. For he said that he had a buke of Latyn that conteyned all that and mykill mare, after whilk buke the Mappa Mundi es made; and that buke he schewed me. And therfore oure haly fader the Pape hase ratified and confermed my buke in all poyntes.⁶⁰

(In coming homeward, I made my way to Rome to show my book to our holy father the Pope. And I told him the marvels which I had seen in diverse countries, so that he with his wise council would examine it with diverse folk that are in Rome, for there live men of all nations of the world. And a little while after, when he and his council had examined it all through, he said to me for certain that all was true that was therein, for he said that he had a book in Latin that contained all that and much more, after which book the Mappa Mundi is made; and he showed me that book. And therefore our holy father the Pope has ratified and confirmed my book in all points.)

At greater length, the Cotton manuscript reads:

And yee schull undirstonde if it like you that at myn hom comynge I cam to Rome & schewed my life to oure holy fadir the Pope & was assoylled of all that lay in my conscience of many a diverse grievous point, as men must needs that ben in company dwellyng among so many a diverse folk of diverse secte & of beleewe as I have ben. And amonges all I schewed him this tretys that I had made after informacioun of men that knewen of thinges that I had not seen myself, and also of merveyles and customes that I had seen myself, as fer as God wolde geve me grace, And besoughte his holy fadirhode, that my boke mighte ben examined and corrected by avys of his wise & discreet conseil. And oure holy fader of his special grace remitted my boke to ben examyned & preved be the avys of his said conseil, be the whiche my boke was preeved for trewe in so moche that they schewed me a boke that my boke was examyned by, that comprehended full moche more be an hundred part, be the whiche the *Mappa Mundi* was made after. And so my boke, all be it that many men ne list not to geve credence to no thing but to that that they seen with hire eye, ne be the auctour ne the persone never so trewe, is affermed & preved be oure holy fader in maner & forme as I have said.⁶¹

(And you should understand, if it please you, that in my coming home, I came to Rome and confessed to our holy father the Pope, and was absolved of all that lay in my conscience about many a diverse grievous point, as is required of all those who dwell in the company of so many diverse folk of diverse sects and beliefs, as I have. And, in the company of all, I showed him the treatise that I had made after information from men that know of things that I had not seen myself, and also of marvels and customs that I had seen myself, as far as God would give me grace, and I besought his holy father that my book might be examined and corrected by advice of his wise and discrete council. And our holy father, in his special grace, sent my book to be examined and tested by the advice of his said council, by which my book was proved to be true in so much that they showed me a book by which my book was examined, which contained full much more than a hundred parts, after which the *Mappa Mundi* was made. And so my book, albeit that many men do not wish to give credence to anything but that which they have seen with their eye, no matter how faithful the author or person, is affirmed and proved by our holy father in the manner and form that I have said.)

These additions, clumsy or deft, were quite enduring, thanks to the use of the Cotton version of the text (containing this passage) for the print edition of 1725, which would represent the text to most readers of English in the subsequent centuries.⁶² The assertion of papal endorsement goes well beyond the earliest known Mandeville narrator's own degree of certitude, as the Insular French text contains several statements of ignorance. Instead, the added passages conclude in similar language in both the Defective and Egerton tradition and the Cotton version, that the pope confirmed the *Book*:

Defective/Egerton:

And so my boke, all be it that many men ne list not to geve credence to no thing but to that that they seen with hire eye, ne be the auctour ne the persone never so trewe, is affermed & preved be oure holy fader in maner & forme as I have said.

(And so my book, albeit that many men do not wish to give credence to anything but that which they have seen with their eye, no matter how faithful the author or person, *is affirmed and tested by our holy father in manner and form*, as I have said.)⁶³

Cotton:

oure haly fader the Pape hase ratified and confermed my buke in all poyntes.

(our holy father the Pope has ratified and confirmed my book *in all points*.)⁶⁴

Once these additions have been made, the *Book*, then, bills itself not as mostly accurate or largely correct, not as the imperfect product of the humble narrator who at the outset of his text modestly asserts 'I am not worthy',⁶⁵ but rather, as a totality confirmed by the highest authority 'in all points'. In reading such statements, we must bear in mind the nature of this text, which claims to be something it is not, and so 'is a forgery – and the deceit is not redeemed by calling the work a "romance of travel", since it presents itself as historical'.⁶⁶ The blurring of the 'real' and the 'fictional' creates much of the *frisson* of the *Book* and other related texts.⁶⁷ Indeed, the texts and images also blur eye-witness accounts and second-hand accounts ('I schewed him this tretys that I had made after informacioun of men that knewen of thinges *that I had not seen myself*, and also of merveyles and customes *that I had seen myself*' [I showed him the treatise that I had made after information from men that know of things that I had not seen myself, and also of marvels and customs that I had seen myself]⁶⁸), which is all the more significant since nearly the entire text is pieced together from the accounts of others. Who knows what is, then, at the core of the text?

Returning to the text from Mandeville about the priests of Prester John's kingdom, quoted above, we find that their priests 'do not say as many things at the mass as one does over here ... we have many additions that the popes have since made about which they know nothing'.⁶⁹ The ignorance, it seems, is entirely theirs, and the possibility is never mentioned that *we* (that is, the 'we' of the text, Western European Christians, perhaps even English Christians) might 'know nothing' about additions or important retractions that *they* have subsequently made. Similarly, as the concluding paragraph states, 'there is no people – because they have reason and understanding – who do not have some articles of *our faith* and some good points of *our belief*'.⁷⁰ It remains unconsidered that 'we' might bear some articles of *their* faith. This is a paradigmatically colonialist view, and it should not surprise us to find it in the *Book*, or in other medieval texts treating 'the East'. Indeed, while Edward Said might not explicitly address the medieval back-story to colonialism in his foundational 1978 text on *Orientalism*, the 'prehistory of Orientalism' is there implicitly, throughout.⁷¹

Multiple certitudes

There are several competing certitudes at play, here. I will first consider the certitude of the colonial viewpoint. To epitomise the perspective, we might look at nineteenth-century writing, which is more direct about such matters than twentieth- and twenty-first-century writing tends to be, at least in scholarly and mainstream outlets rather than in the great proliferation of blogs and other websites that take a decidedly colonial view of the world. In 1849, for example, Benjamin Disraeli declared in House of

Commons that ‘race implies difference, difference implies superiority, and superiority leads to predominance’.⁷²

The Mandeville author, like Disraeli after him, is locked into the perspective of his subject position. If people are different, for Disraeli and others, one must be ‘better’ than the others – a clear inverse of more recent postmodern notions of pluralism, and a sharp point of contrast for the emergent concept of the post-human.⁷³ Lochrie argues for Mandeville’s ‘embrace of cultural and religious difference’ as ‘more than an expression of tolerance: it is an insistence on the provincialism of European knowledge, Christianity, and cultural achievement’.⁷⁴ There are passages in the *Book* that support this perspective, particularly those discussing the non-Christian ‘Bragmans’ (‘Brahmans’), ‘a good and trustworthy people, and of a good way of life according to their belief and good faith’,⁷⁵ and Gynosophes, ‘also a good and trustworthy people and full of good faith’.⁷⁶ It is difficult to grasp the overarching philosophy of the text. On the one hand, it argues: ‘I believe God always loves those who love him and serve humbly in virtue and loyalty ... as Job likewise did ... That is to say that He had other servants than [those] under Christian Law’.⁷⁷ On the other hand are the passages regarding ‘the cruel Jews’, ‘the worthless Jews’, whom the ‘Alkoran’ – the holy book of the Saracens – ‘says are wicked because they will not believe that Jesus was sent by God’.⁷⁸ In short, God loves everyone who loves him, even those who are not Christians, except the Jews, who are to be rejected because they are not Christians. Still, there are traces of the colonial perspective even within the oft-praised passage on the ‘good and trustworthy’ Bragmans, which notes that they ‘are not Christians’, and therefore ‘do not have perfect law’.⁷⁹

Blank spaces

That Edward Said wrote his dissertation on Joseph Conrad is not, I imagine, unrelated to his publication of *Orientalism*, as few modern authors are as troublingly eloquent in their construction of Africa – for medievals, often included as part of the ‘East’ – as the author of *Heart of Darkness*. But just as it was a map that set Marlowe on course for the African interior on a steamboat in Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, the discipline of geography is necessary to the colonial project. For Sylvia Tomasch, geography ‘always enjoins an element of control, of conquest, even of ravishment’.⁸⁰ As Marlowe, the narrator of *Heart of Darkness*, reminisces:

When I was a little chap I had a passion for maps. I would look for hours at South America, or Africa, or Australia, and lose myself in all the glories of exploration. At that time there were many *blank spaces on the earth*, and when I saw one that looked particularly inviting on a map (but they all look that) I would put my finger on it and say, ‘When I grow up I will go there.’ ... But there was one yet – the biggest, the most blank, so to speak – that I had a hankering after.⁸¹

The grip with which maps held the young Marlowe is much like the pull of the *Book*, the draw of examining the unexaminable, grappling with the inconceivable.⁸² As Alfred Hiatt writes, ‘the blank of the map is here a space onto which various forms of fantasy can be projected – it is imbued with glory, glamour, and “delightful mystery”’.⁸³ Indeed, it is ‘the biggest, the most blank’ section of the map the draws Marlowe, the section of the map most open to the inscription of a colonial viewpoint upon it.

It was the prevalence of this very sort of thinking that pushed Said towards his writing of *Orientalism*. As a Palestinian-born Protestant Christian, he was 'a minority inside a minority'.⁸⁴ At the time of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Said was teaching at Columbia. US coverage of the war, which strongly favoured the Israeli position, galvanised for him a Palestinian identity that had not been central to his self-conception earlier. For Said, the essential problem was at least in part geographical. 'For him', as Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia write, 'the Zionist slogan, "A people without land ... for a land without people..." saw Palestine as "the European imperialist did, as an empty territory paradoxically 'filled' with ignoble or perhaps even dispensable natives"'.⁸⁵ In many respects, this is how Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* and other medieval geographies depicted the region.⁸⁶ Matthew was a thirteenth-century polymath Benedictine monk of St. Albans – by chance the same locale claimed as the home of the narrator of the *Book of John Mandeville*. Michael Gaudio writes that Matthew Paris's mid-thirteenth-century Itinerary from London through Jerusalem, filling seven folios in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 26, 'treat[s] nature negatively as a space of discontinuity between sites of civilization ... Emptied of meaning, the natural world thus becomes a non-space that allows human interpretation to enter into the cartographic text'.⁸⁷ No less, though, Matthew's explosive, ever-expanding map of the Holy Land, replete with foldout flaps grasping for more territory, is largely clear of autochthonous inhabitants (Figure 4.4).

There are but two human figures, besides the boatloads of colonialist crusaders arriving on the shores: a lone Bedouin, one of the 'rich merchants who in these regions are rich from gold and silver, from precious stones, silk and spices, oxen, mules, camels, and swift horses that can endure much exhaustion', described by the accompanying inscription.⁸⁸ This is a figure by nature not rooted to a particular place, not able to make a claim to the region he is clearly just passing through,⁸⁹ and a featureless outline of a figure who seems to be disappearing down the gullet of the crocodile beside *Ninive la grant* (Nineveh the Great; the figure is actually Jonah, being vomited up by the Great Fish on the city's shores). Neither conveys the least sense of possession of the land around him, and both will soon be gone. Building on Spivak's notion of 'worlding', introduced in her essay 'The Rani of Sirmur',⁹⁰ Jodi Byrd writes that this necessary 'emptying out of meaning and presence marks the arrival of the colonizer'. Indeed, it is through '[t]his "worlding of a world"' that the coloniser 'naturalizes the European order as dominant in the land by imaginatively transforming the Native Other into an empty referent', culminating when 'the settler finally declares the land uninhabited'.⁹¹

Even naming the territory in question was fraught – and remains so: Canaan. The Land of Israel. Judea. Palestine. Bilad al-Sham. The Holy Land. The *Promised Land*. These terms⁹² – all in use in the Middle Ages and today – accreted to the territory over millennia: Canaan, the Land of Israel,⁹³ Judea, and the Promised Land are biblical designations; Palestine is a Roman designation; Bilad al-Sham is medieval Arabic, though it was also used by medieval Judeo-Arabic-speaking Jews; the Holy Land is a Christian designation. In the very first line of the *Book of John Mandeville*, the region is referred to by three terms: 'the land beyond the sea – that is, the Holy Land, which is also called the Promised Land'.⁹⁴ The 'promise' originates in Genesis 12:1–12 and is reconfirmed in Exodus 6:5–8.⁹⁵ However, as Higgins notes, 'Paul uses the idea symbolically ... reframing it in Christian terms'.⁹⁶ Yes, the land was promised, but *to whom*?

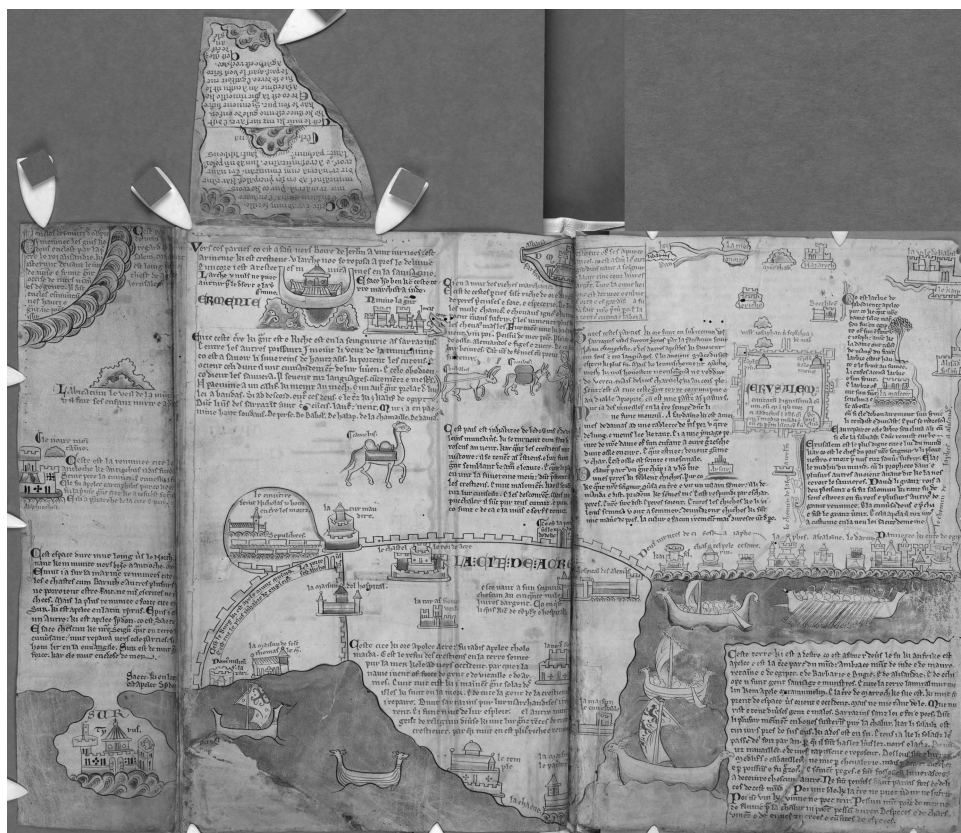


Figure 4.4 Matthew Paris, Map of the Holy Land, *Chronica Majora*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 26, fol. iii verso–iv recto, c. 1250 (photograph: by permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge).

As Cohen argues (via Derrida, via Hegel⁹⁷), the act of naming is a controlling manoeuvre: ‘A fixation is born of the twin desire to name that which is difficult to apprehend and to domesticate (and therefore disempower) that which threatens’.⁹⁸ Mapping the land is similarly contested, and has been since the Middle Ages. The texts of the *Book of John Mandeville*, with their references to *mappae mundi* (in the papal-confirmation passages cited above),⁹⁹ invite comparisons with medieval maps. Matthew Paris provides what are among the more elaborate medieval images of the region.¹⁰⁰ More typical maps like the contemporary Psalter Map are different from Paris’s maps in many respects (Figure 4.5). The oecumene – the inhabitable world – encircles Jerusalem, and is in turn ringed with monsters (particularly in Africa but also in the North-East, where the wall containing Gog and Magog appears). Such collections of monsters appear on several surviving maps, including the Hereford, Ebsdorf and Duchy of Cornwall Maps.¹⁰¹

These wonders, central to Mandeville and key to the Psalter Map, are largely absent from Matthew’s maps. Monsters and other exotic Others, though, are not incidental



Figure 4.5 Mappamundi, Psalter, London, British Library, Add. MS 28681, fol. 9r, c. 1265 (photograph: The British Library Board, reproduced under Creative Commons).

to the function of many medieval maps, but rather, are frequently essential components thereof. They provide the needed counterpoint to Jerusalem's centrality, based on – among other texts – Psalm 73 (contained, of course, in the Psalter that houses the Psalter Map), which claims that God performs the work of salvation 'in the middle of the earth'. Indeed, the centrality of Jerusalem is highlighted in the *Book of John Mandeville* more ardently than in other travel narratives.¹⁰² Matthew's maps, though, do not centre on *anything*, certainly not Jerusalem, which is a smallish square on the right. An inscription below Jerusalem declares it 'the midpoint of the world',¹⁰³ unneeded on the Psalter Map, where the city's centrality is obvious.

I would like to dwell on the small but fiercely contested square of Jerusalem for a moment more. It contains within it three structures, and no peoples. Why? By the time Matthew made this map, the Crusader Kingdom was over, Jerusalem was in ruins, destroyed by the Khorezmians, and the Christian sites he depicts – the Holy Sepulchre (lower right), the so-called Temple of Solomon (which was the home of the Templars, upper right) and the Temple of the Lord (upper left) – had all been converted or reclaimed by Muslims. That the Temple of Solomon was the converted and expanded Al Aqsa mosque, and the Temple of the Lord was really the Dome of the Rock highlights the brevity of the colonialist Crusader Kingdom. As Lewis notes, Jerusalem is the 'only instance on the Palestine map in which Matthew uses Latin for the descriptions and captions of the city and its landmarks, perhaps ... to underline the present reality that the Holy City no longer existed in its former Christian state and now belonged to the past'.¹⁰⁴ At the same time, the city's features and monuments are inscribed in the timelessly current language of the liturgy.¹⁰⁵

Pasts, presents, and futures

We might connect Matthew's image of Jerusalem with the *Book of John Mandeville's* construction of the Jews who, as Higgins writes, 'inhabit only the past and the future', and are thereby denied their present-day humanity.¹⁰⁶ As such, both land and people are held in a sort of animated suspension. In the prologue, the *Book* associates the Jews and Jerusalem, but also links them to the past ('for *at that time* this land *belonged* to the Jews'¹⁰⁷). Later in the text – indeed, in a passage just before that describing the land of the griffins discussed above (see Figure 4.2) – the *Book* presents the Jews as projected into a future rooted in 'apocalyptic fear'.¹⁰⁸ Where the *Book* conflates 'the Jews of the Ten Tribes, who are called Goth and Magoth [Gog and Magog]', the narrator sharply notes, 'the Jews do not have their own land [anywhere] in the whole world' except their enclosure behind the Caspian Mountains;¹⁰⁹ they are consequently disinherited from the 'Promised' Land. Instead, 'it is said that they will come out in Antichrist's time and that they will slaughter a great many Christians'.¹¹⁰ Andrew Colin Gow explains that

[t]he identification of the apocalyptic destroyers Gog and Magog with the Ten Tribes of Israel ... was a product of the twelfth century. It first appears in scholastic circles, but owes much to a literary tradition concerned with the place of Christendom in this world more than in the next.¹¹¹

This apocalyptic conception of the Jews is found on all three of Matthew Paris's maps of the Holy Land, where they are inscribed behind the wall of the Caspian Mountains.

Lochrie argues that the *Book* is not only utopian in nature, but constructs 'a "cosmopolitan" utopia rather than an "insular" one, constructed through Mandeville's vast travels rather than tucked away in an isolated corner, somewhere'.¹¹² And yet, as on Matthew Paris's map – indeed, as on all three of his maps of the Holy Land – there is an 'isolated corner' of deeply dystopian nature. At the upper-left corner, crammed in behind the wall of the Caucasus Mountains, in the region conventionally associated with the apocalyptic hordes of Gog and Magog, Matthew writes:

Here dwell the Jews whom God enclosed through the prayer of King Alexander and who will come forth on the eve of the Day of Judgment and will bring great destruction to [or openly massacre¹¹³] all the people.¹¹⁴

Indeed, the "cosmopolitan" utopia' of the *Book* is predicated on the insular enclosure of the Jews. As Cohen notes, 'Mandeville, so cosmopolitan that he renders promiscuous nudist communist cannibals comprehensible, nonetheless has nothing good to say about Jews'.¹¹⁵ They are visually excluded and contained on Matthew's maps, and textually contained in Mandeville's text: 'the Jews do not have their own land [anywhere] in the whole world except this land between the mountains'; 'they cannot get out by any route'; 'a large number of people could not climb out'; 'they have no way out'.¹¹⁶

The illustrated manuscript of the *Book* discussed above, Harley 3954, provides an image of the moment when the Jews are walled in behind the Caspian Mountains (Figure 4.6). The text informs the reader that the Jews were enclosed in the Caspian Hills, and that they are of the people of Gog and Magog, two assertions stressed by the captions in the right margin. In the image, we see a great mass of figures, some in armour and helms and others wearing crowns or other elaborate and fanciful headgear, suggesting that these are some of the twenty-two Jewish kings imprisoned with their followers. The image bristles with swords and spears and is splashed with bright red, looking much like the splatters of blood that appear in numerous illustrations to this point in the manuscript. The background is a dusky maroon that waves and sways, looking like flames of hell – an impression furthered by the flame-like rocks that seem to press the Jews towards the water on the right; this perhaps implies that their temporal imprisonment is a foretaste of the eternal imprisonment that awaits these 'enemies of Christ'. Outside the rough and jagged walls, we see Alexander directing two workers with shovels, putting the finishing touches on the work God began. Above them, the Caspian Gate looms at an oblique angle. The image supports the textual assertion that 'they have no way out', that the Jews are excluded from the otherwise ecumenical world of the oecumene. It also, though – like the *Book* and like Matthew Paris's conspiracy theories¹¹⁷ – presents these contained Jews as numerous and heavily armed. In addition to the spears many carry, they have a portable armoury on a wagon, being pulled by a horse at the centre of their enclosure. The implication is that they are contained *for now*, but, since they are conflated with Gog and Magog, will eventually overrun their walls, and all of Christian civilisation beyond.

The exclusion of the Jews is not merely an oversight in the otherwise cosmopolitan view of Mandeville; it is the essential ingredient. As Krummel argues, by Christianising Otherness, Mandeville obliterates Otherness, changing the identity of Others to absorb them into his version of Christendom: 'Otherness must be erased and effaced – that is, eliminated'.¹¹⁸ All except for the Jews, the one irreconcilable



Other than grants meaning to the 'universal', the 'catholic', the 'ecumenical' stance of the medieval Church.

In Mandeville's formulation (based on Christian writings from Paul, forward), the Jew cannot be assimilated into the larger – even global – community, into Christendom,

because they are wilfully blind to Jesus and his message, 'stone-hearted, according to the Christian hijacking of Ezekiel 36:26'.¹¹⁹ The Jews remain wilfully and eternally apart, locked into a pre-Advent past and therefore unable to be part of the 'utopian' future of Mandeville's world. 'Judaism was a static and sterile relic, unchanged and unchangeable since the coming of Christ rendered literal observance of the Old Law obsolete'.¹²⁰

But what of Jerusalem, of the ancestral land of the Jews, of the region 'promised'? Formerly the home of the Jews ('for *at that time* this land *belonged* to the Jews'¹²¹), it has been lost by them, as their 'old law' is superseded by the 'new'.¹²² Returning to Matthew's image of Jerusalem, we find it is evacuated of its Jewish inhabitants, filled primarily with Muslim structures appropriated by Christian colonisers. The Temple of the Lord – the Dome of the Rock – appears at the upper-left corner of the city, with its great copper dome clearly represented.¹²³ The labelling of the Dome as '*Templum Domini*' – no longer in Christian control when the map was made – is hopeful, wishful, perhaps even defiant. Indeed, the *Book's* narrator calls the structure the 'Templum Domini', but notes that '[t]he Saracens allow neither Christians nor Jews to enter, for they say that such foul people ought not to enter or rest in such a holy place'.¹²⁴ And still, the Dome of the Rock remains fraught with significance, seven and a half centuries later, as it is among the most visible landmarks of the still-contested city of Jerusalem.¹²⁵ Denis Wood makes brief mention of Matthew Paris in a chapter on the modern mapping of Palestine, which he characterises as 'a paradigm of the history of mapmaking'.¹²⁶ Indeed, the legacy of this conflict is echoed in the flag-like emblem of Hamas (Figure 4.7); at its centre is an image of the Dome of the Rock, and above it, a map of the land, itself, hangs like a knife. Beneath the Dome, 'Palestine' is written in Arabic, declaring through denomination (as well as language choice, as significant as Matthew's use of ecclesiastical Latin within Jerusalem on his map) the 'correct' identity for this land.¹²⁷ The name, the Dome, and the sliver of territory above them emblemise – as did Matthew's representation – either victory or unjust deprivation, depending on viewpoint. Such a use of cartography on emblems and flags is uncommon, though its political use is standard. No major world powers currently have maps of themselves on their flags. Among the very few countries that do are other sites of great contestation; the flags of both Kosovo and Cyprus bear images of their territory. This is likely the result of the fraught nature of the control of these territories. Mapping results from many impulses, including imperial confidence, but also longing – Sylvia Tomasz's 'Geographical Desire'¹²⁸ – and anxiety. It should be noted that the seax-shaped territory on the emblem is not a geographic reality, but a dream, a hope, a rallying cry for Hamas – and a threat directed at Israel – as it shows a Palestine *without* Israel; just so, Matthew's *Templum Domini* is a memory and dream and a hope for reconquest. An explanation of the Hamas emblem from The Palestinian Information Center reads: 'The map is indicative of Hamas's attitude that the conflict aims to restore (from the occupiers) the entire Palestine with its Mandate borders and that Hamas rejects the issue to be limited to the lands occupied in 1967'.¹²⁹ Maps from the Arab world are frequently configured in similar fashion.

These geographical works – the *Book of John Mandeville*, the Psalter Map, Matthew Paris's Map of the Holy Land, *Heart of Darkness*, and even the emblem of Hamas – all emanate from or embody the desire to generate certitude, the conviction that one side (be it that of the Crusaders or the English back home, of Hamas or, of course, the Israeli government) holds a monopoly on truth. In the *Book of John*



Figure 4.7 Emblem of Hamas (photograph: <http://hamas.ps/en/page/2/>).

Mandeville, this certainty is particularly hard-won, increasing both within the text and over time as additions were made by later authors/compilers/translators, from admissions of the limitations of the narrator's knowledge to the ultimate papal imprimatur granted regarding 'all points'¹³⁰ therein. By the end of the Defective/Egerton and Cotton versions, the narrator has found the certitude necessary to make his judgments about which groups are 'good and trustworthy people',¹³¹ about whom 'God always loves',¹³² and who is beyond the pale.

Conclusion: Art historical certitude

The certitude discussed here, though, is not constrained to political or religious or territorial battles. In *Our Beautiful, Dry, and Distant Texts: Art History as Writing*, James Elkins argues against the certitude that very often characterises the academic endeavour, the desire to crack the nut, to solve the puzzle. The flaw Elkins finds in this line of thinking – if applied universally – is that not all works of art *are* puzzles, or perhaps put differently, not all puzzles presented by works of art have solutions. Just

because we are confronted with something we do not feel we fully understand does not mean that we must be able, with enough diligence, to come to a clear conclusion about it. Art history may present instead 'a thicket of problems that can have no clear solutions: if they were clear, they wouldn't be art history'.¹³³ At issue in the works of art themselves, and in the art historical approaches brought to bear upon them, is that much of what we do is not as deliberate and logical as we might think. As Elkins writes:

Much of art history ... is not entirely conscious ... Thinking about art and history, I think, is like daydreaming: we drift in and out of awareness of what we're doing. Sometimes it may be clear what impels me to write a certain passage; other days, I have very little idea why a certain theory rings true, or a certain phrase sounds right.¹³⁴

This essay results as much from daydreaming about tangentially related topics – colonialism, Matthew Paris, *The Book of John Mandeville*, Hamas, Conrad – as from a carefully considered and rational approach. Daydreaming, yes, but not mere daydreaming; in combining these disparate subjects, I have worked to generate an art historical argument as hybridised as the medieval works it considers, and the beings they in turn contain. I hope the result produces what Karen Eileen Overbey, in characterising postcolonial art history, describes as 'contiguity and contingency [calling] attention to imbalance, to contact, and to border zones'.¹³⁵ I aim to keep one eye on the present as I keep the other on the medieval past, not in order to reify the premodern/modern divide, but rather, in order to erode modernity's practice of defining itself against a medieval Other.¹³⁶ The arguments made here are self-evidently not the only ones that might be made about any of these works and objects, and are not attempts to have the final word on any discussions about them, but instead, to explore a series of layers of signification we might find within them. Finally, part of my hope in engaging in such extended daydreaming, is to retain a measure of wonder in the process of receiving (most of) these works, a quality often associated with Mandeville, but which is, ultimately, undercut to the point of eradication by the assertions of total accuracy at the end of the text. As Bynum writes, '[w]onder was a response to something novel and bizarre that seemed both to exceed explanation and to indicate that there might be reason (significance – not necessarily cause) behind it'.¹³⁷

We continue to live in a world characterised by colonial perspectives that insist that the perspective of those in power is not a perspective, at all. This view of the world would certainly be familiar to the Mandeville author(s). Other peoples throughout the world, he tells us, 'do not know how to *speak perfectly* [without error]'.¹³⁸ Only with a sense of certainty of one's own correctness, one's own definitive and normative status in the world, can another speaker's words and manner of speech be deemed incorrect, inept, simply wrong.

In a published lecture, F. Donald Logan directly addresses 'the problem of certitude' for the medieval historian. He provides a wonderful list of the sorts of expressions – reminiscent of Mandeville's claims of incomplete knowledge – used by historians: '[i]t seems probable' ... 'it would not seem improbable' ... 'the evidence suggests' or 'seems to suggest' ... 'one should perhaps conclude', and so on.¹³⁹ In raising the issue, though, Logan falls back on a fairly traditional position: certitude is always desirable, and possible to achieve when sufficient empirical evidence is present. We know this is the case,

he argues, when ‘reasonable people agree’ on the conclusion. The trouble, here, is that we are back to the position taken by Mandeville: the eminently reasonable narrator asserts the validity of his own text, and pope, along with ‘his wise & discreet conseil’ [wise and discrete council]¹⁴⁰ all do agree, and are confirmed in their opinion by the contents of ‘a buke of Latyn that conteyned all that and mykill mare, after whilk buke the *Mappa Mundi* es made’ [a book in Latin that contained all that and much more, after which book the *Mappa Mundi* is made].¹⁴¹ Of course, the *mappa mundi* referred to here is a fiction, along with the entire interpolation, and would not perhaps have been more likely to conjure in the reader’s mind a map like the Psalter Map than like Matthew Paris’s Map of the Holy Land, and yet the contents of the latter would nonetheless have provided just this sort of asseveration, not for Mandeville, who never was, but for his readers, who were legion.

Which, then, is the ‘correct’ interpretation of the *Book of John Mandeville*, that it is an early, utopian beacon of tolerance, or a bastion of recycled racism and hate? Not surprisingly, it is both. The best to be found in the *Book* lies in its doubts and its openness, which have led to its positive reception by so many self-aware and open-minded scholars; the worst to be found in the *Book* lies in its fiery certitude about the absolute intolerability of the Jews. Logan asks:

[H]ow can we have certain knowledge of events beyond our own experience? ... For the medieval historian who deals in a period that ended six hundred or so years ago the issue of certitude is particularly acute. The sources can be exiguous, fragmentary, perhaps contradictory. How certain can the medieval historian be about the medieval world?¹⁴²

If there is a lesson to take from the amalgamation of texts and images that comprise the *Book of John Mandeville*, this hodgepodge, this patchwork of others’ experiences, perspectives and ideas, I do not think it lies in the specifics of its broadmindedness regarding Others, which is inevitably (and tragically) incomplete. Instead, I believe it lies in its equally incomplete motion towards doubt and uncertainty. And I must be right, for our holy father the Pope has ratified and confirmed my essay in all points.

Notes

- 1 My thanks to Marcia Kupfer and Eva Frojmovic for excellent suggestions on drafts of this essay, and to Jeffrey Jerome Cohen for sharing unpublished work on Mandeville, and for declaring that my closing line works.
- 2 London, British Library, Add. MS 28681, fol. 9r, c. 1265. See Konrad Miller, *Mappae-mundi: Die ältesten Weltkarten* (Stuttgart: J. Roth, 1895–98), vol. 3, 37–43; Peter Barber, ‘Medieval Maps of the World’, in P.D.A. Harvey, ed., *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context* (London: The British Library, 2006), 15–19 and Chet Van Duzer, ‘Hic sunt dracones: The Geography and Cartography of Monsters’, in *Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. Asa Simon Mittman and Peter Dendle (London: Ashgate, 2012), 387–436.
- 3 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 26, fol. iii verso–iv recto, c. 1250. See Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the ‘Chronica Majora’* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) and Daniel K. Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009).
- 4 See Asa Simon Mittman, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
- 5 Jean Verdun, *Travel in the Middle Ages*, trans. George Holloch (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003; orig. ed. 1998), 291.

- 6 Iain Macleod Higgins, *The Book of John of Mandeville, with Related Texts* (Cambridge: Hachett Publishing, 2011), 5. I will follow Higgins, xi–xii, in calling this text the *Book* rather than *The Travels*, based on his rationale.
- 7 As Higgins, *Mandeville*, xvi, notes, 'If *TBJM* was composed, as claimed, in the later 1350s, then it was made in a period of much traffic of people and books between England and France during the Hundred Years' War ... In such circumstances, an English knight, or an English cleric claiming to be a knight, could have composed an Anglo-Norman book on the Continent, while conversely a French knight or cleric claiming to be an English knight could have composed the work in Continental French in England'.
- 8 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Pilgrimages, Travel Writing and the Medieval Exotic', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Elaine Treharne and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 618. For an extensive list of literary sources, see Christiane Deluz, *Le Livre de Jehan de Mandeville: Une 'géographie' au XIV^e siècle* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1988), 39–93 and the table at 428–91.
- 9 Higgins, *Mandeville*, ix.
- 10 Cohen, 'Pilgrimages, Travel Writing', 625.
- 11 Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 122. For a detailed account of surviving manuscripts and manuscript groups of the Continental French version, see Susanne Röhl, *Der livre de Mandeville im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der kontinentalfranzösischen Version* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2004). For a chart of all surviving manuscripts, see Deluz, *Le Livre de Jehan de Mandeville*, 370–82. Further, several early printed versions were published, beginning in 1470, rendering it more popular in incunabula than any other medieval prose text.
- 12 Iain Macleod Higgins, 'Defining the Earth's Center in a Medieval "Multi-Text": Jerusalem in *The Book of John Mandeville*', in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sealy Anne Gilles and Sylvia Tomasch (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 29–53, at 32.
- 13 Higgins, *Mandeville*, xv, 199–200. The Cotton version was the basis for a widely disseminated print edition of 1725 that 'effectively represented the work for more than two centuries thereafter'. Similarly, C.W.R.D. Moseley's popular modern edition, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, revised edition (London: Penguin, 2005; first ed. 1983), is based on Egerton.
- 14 Caroline Walker Bynum, 'Wonder', Presidential Address to the American Historical Association, 3 January 1997, *American Historical Review*, 102.1 (1997), 1–26, at 24. This address is also available online on the AHA webpage (2000), http://www.historians.org/info/aha_history/cwbynum.htm (accessed July 2012).
- 15 Karma Lochrie, 'Provincializing Medieval Europe: Mandeville's Cosmopolitan Utopia', *PMLA*, 124.2 (2009), 592–9, at 598. This is the most direct definition Lochrie provides for 'utopia', and it is a useful one. She writes, here, of 'an isolationist ideal', because she is describing typical utopias, in contrast to what she views as Mandeville's 'utopian cosmopolitanism'.
- 16 Lochrie, 'Provincializing Medieval Europe', 598.
- 17 Lochrie, 'Provincializing Medieval Europe', 596.
- 18 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 3. The *Book* opens with an extended sentence of a page and a half that, partway through, reads, 'in this very worthy land the heavenly king wished to lead His life and be harmed by the cruel Jews'.
- 19 Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 429, n. 11. This important point is curiously buried in an endnote.
- 20 Marcia Kupfer "'... lectures ... plus vraies": Hebrew Script and Jewish Witness in the *Mandeville* Manuscript of Charles V', *Speculum* 83.1 (2008), 58–111, at 62. See Kupfer's note 11 for additional sources on Mandeville and tolerance.
- 21 Miriamne Ara Krummel, *Crafting Jewishness in Medieval England: Legally Absent, Virtually Present* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 72.
- 22 Cohen, 'Pilgrimages, Travel Writing', and 'Between Christian and Jew: Orthodoxy, Violence and Living Together in Medieval England', lecture presented at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 2009.

- 23 Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, 141 and Iain Macleod Higgins, *Writing East: The 'Travels' of Sir John Mandeville* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 81. Both passages are cited by Cohen, 'Between Christian and Jew', and Lochrie, 'Provincializing Medieval Europe'.
- 24 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives', *History and Theory*, 24.3 (1985), 247–72, at 251.
- 25 'tolerance, n.' *OED Online* (September 2012), <http://oed.com/view/Entry/202979?rskey=I0zzQU&result=1&isAdvanced=false> (accessed 4 October 2012). Emphasis added.
- 26 'tolerance, n.' *Dictionary.com* (2012), <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/tolerance> (accessed 4 October 2012). Emphasis added.
- 27 Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 56.
- 28 Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 56. See also Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), for an extended argument on the Augustinian traditions of 'Jewish witness' and 'toleration'.
- 29 Kupfer, '... lectures ... plus vraies', 102.
- 30 Lipton, *Images of Intolerance* 56–7, provides several examples.
- 31 Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 75, discussing a *Bible moralisée* image depicting 'A Jew seated beside but turned away from a Gothic choir screen: a visual expression of the Augustinian proposition that Jews must be allowed to live among Christians because they are witnesses to and keepers of the Law'.
- 32 Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 76.
- 33 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 184, 37, 16, 37. These passages come from the putative 'original French' version, (vii), known as Insular. Higgins notes that this may be the earliest of the versions surviving, and is the basis for Higgins's translation, cited here as *Mandeville*. For more on the debate over which French text – Insular or Continental – is the earlier, see Higgins, *Mandeville*, xv–xviii, esp. notes 20 and 22.
- 34 Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, 154, notes that the *Book* contains several marvels added to a passage borrowed from Odoric, who has pointedly excluded them.
- 35 Moseley, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, 169.
- 36 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 201, from the Egerton manuscript (British Library MS Egerton 1982). I have extended Higgins's translation.
- 37 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 202, also from the Egerton manuscript.
- 38 Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, 158.
- 39 Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 141–2.
- 40 Cohen, 'Pilgrimages, Travel Writing', 619. According to the text, Mandeville leaves for his travels in 1332 and returns in 1366.
- 41 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 177.
- 42 The fictional nature of this compiled text is covered in most writing on the legend. For brief discussion of the origins and speculations on the great endurance thereof, see Asa Simon Mittman, 'Prester John: A Utopian Fantasy of the Crusaders', *World History: Ancient and Medieval Eras* (ABC-CLIO, 2011), <http://ancienthistory2.abc-clio.com/> (accessed 14 October 2011).
- 43 Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, 125.
- 44 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 114.
- 45 Cohen, 'Pilgrimages, Travel Writing', 622.
- 46 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 114, n. 390.
- 47 Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, 141.
- 48 Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, 141.
- 49 Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, 142.
- 50 James B. Mitchell, 'Popular Autobiography As Historiography', *Biography*, 26.4 (2003), 608.
- 51 Michael C. Seymour, *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels*, EETS o.s. 319 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), xx. For further discussion of the manuscript's images, see Asa Simon Mittman, 'Are the Monstrous "Races" Races?', *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 6.1 (2015), 36–51.
- 52 The first several gatherings, including that containing this folio, are of the usual eight bifolios, and are trimmed to just beyond the prickings (0.3–0.5cm). The last two gatherings

containing the *Book of Mandeville* are of ten bi-folios, and are trimmed rather more generously, with approximately 1.5cm beyond the prickings, though in the current binding they are all roughly even, when the volume is closed.

- 53 Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 20. The correspondences in form and function are so strong that I am left to wonder if these thirteenth-century English manuscripts might have been influential in the design of the fifteenth-century English *Book* manuscript.
- 54 Lewis, *Reading Images*, 20.
- 55 Lewis, *Reading Images*, 136.
- 56 Moseley, introduction to *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, 17.
- 57 Arthur Percival Newton was an early critic of the *Book*, and writes, 'one of the most popular books of the Middle Ages ... [is] the spurious work called *Mandeville's Travels*'. See Arthur Percival Newton, *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1926), 12.
- 58 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 183–4. Emphasis added and gloss ('without error') inserted in text from Higgins's footnote.
- 59 Moseley, notes to *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, 189, calls this addition to 'the English versions of the *Book* and one late-fifteenth-century Latin MS' a later 'clumsy interpolation', though Higgins, *Mandeville*, 200, considers 'the E maker' – the anonymous producer of the Egerton manuscript – 'not only an alert reader, but also pious, intelligent, [and] well read'.
- 60 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 202–3.
- 61 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 202.
- 62 Higgins, *Mandeville*, xv.
- 63 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 202; translation mine, emphasis added.
- 64 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 203; translation mine, emphasis added.
- 65 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 5.
- 66 Higgins, *Mandeville*, ix, with internal quotation from Josephine Waters Bennett, *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1954), 39–53. Higgins continues, 'The sometimes contested distinction between history and fiction was even less clear-cut in the fourteenth century than nowadays, but it was not altogether absent, and it is hard to imagine anyone then reading *TBJM*'s truth claims as equivalent to those of, say, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Unlike the imaginary realms of romance (even when they contain real forests, castles, or people), *TBJM*'s alternative worlds are depicted as real, as many of them in fact were'.
- 67 For an extended discussion, see Asa Simon Mittman and Susan M. Kim, *Inconceivable Beasts: The Wonders of the East in the Beowulf Manuscript* (Tempe, AZ: The Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2013), chapter 6: 'Framing the Real'.
- 68 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 202; emphasis added.
- 69 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 177.
- 70 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 183–4; emphasis added.
- 71 Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978) and Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams, 'Introduction: A Return to Wonder', in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. Kabir and Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 10. While the focus of this collection is the colonial use of the Middle Ages by modernity (how 'the Middle Ages came to occupy the position of the "dark continent" for post-Enlightenment Europe', 1), the section on 'Orientalisms before 1600' contains essays exploring colonialist texts and circumstances within the pre-modern world. Recent postcolonial scholarship on the pre-modern world has both affirmed and challenged Said's East-West binary, collectively building up a more complex image of the process of identity formation in conflict but also in dialogue with the East – real or imagined. Kabir and Williams, *Postcolonial Approaches*, 15. Suzanne Conklin Akbari provides a succinct defence of the use of postcolonial approaches within medieval studies in 'From Due East to True North: Orientalism and Orientation', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 31: '[P]ostcolonial theory (in all its many varieties), although developed on the basis of modern manifestations of colonialism, can nonetheless be used

- to analyze premodern texts'. See also Bruce W. Holsinger, 'Medieval Studies, Postcolonial Studies, and the Genealogies of Critique', *Speculum*, 77.4 (2002), 1195–1227, where a strong argument is put forth that medievalists were in essence practising postcolonial theory before the term gained wide currency in the field of medieval studies.
- 72 Herbert H. Odom, 'Generalizations of Race in Nineteenth-Century Physical Anthropology', *Isis*, 57 (1967), 9.
- 73 The post-human pushes us to acknowledge that, from a certain perspective, 'we are all monsters in our singularity', since we are all unlike one another, to varying degrees. As Patricia MacCormack continues, 'the post-human emphasizes that we are all, and must be monsters because none are template humans. The human is an ideal that exists only as a referent to define what deviates from it. Just as the monster is predicated on a judgment based upon what defines a normal human, so too, the human is a conceptualized idea which can be figured as a referent defined only through that which deviates from it'. Patricia MacCormack, 'Post-Human Teratology', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. Asa Simon Mittman and Peter Dendle (London: Ashgate, 2012), 293–310, at 294.
- 74 Lochrie, 'Provincializing Medieval Europe', 596.
- 75 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 172.
- 76 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 174.
- 77 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 175.
- 78 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 3 and 69, 71, 84.
- 79 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 172.
- 80 Sylvia Tomasch, 'Introduction: Medieval Geographical Desire', in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sealy Anne Gilles and Sylvia Tomasch (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 1–12, at 2.
- 81 Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (Charlottesville: Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library, 1999; orig. pub. 1902), 70–1. Emphasis added.
- 82 The earlier medieval text of the *Wonders of the East* (c. 1000) characterises some of its 'eastern' monsters as 'ungefrægelicu', that is, 'inconceivable'. See Mittman and Kim, *Inconceivable Beasts*.
- 83 Alfred Hiatt, 'Blank Spaces on the Earth', *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 15.2 (2002), 223–50, at 223.
- 84 Valerie Kennedy, *Edward Said: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 4. Said's background is quite complicated. He was born in Jerusalem, though his parents lived in Cairo, and he was then partly raised in Egypt, son of a Palestinian-born father who became an American citizen (and owned a paint company in Cleveland) and a mother born in Nazareth, in turn the daughter of a Lebanese woman. For more on this, see *The Edward Said Reader*, ed. Moustafa Bayoumi and Andrew Rubin (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), xvii–xviii.
- 85 Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia, *Edward Said*, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 1999), 4, with interior quotation from Edward Said, 'Zionism from the Standpoint of Its Victims', *Social Text* 1 (1979), 7–58.
- 86 Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt, eds, *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2012); Annette Hoffmann and Gerhard Wolf, eds *Jerusalem as Narrative Space / Erzählraum Jerusalem* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Jeroen Goudeau, Mariëtte Verhoeven and Wouter Weijers, eds, *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).
- 87 Michael Gaudio, 'Matthew Paris and the Cartography of the Margins', *Gesta*, 39.1 (2000): 50–6, at 50.
- 88 Henri Victor Michelant and Gaston Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem: et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français aux XIe, XIIe & XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1882), 127: 'Ci en a mut des riches marchantz, e cift de celfes parties funt riche de or e d'argent, de péres preciufes e foie e efpecerie, de bugles, nuls, chameus e chevaus igneus e ki mut poent travaux fufir'. The translation adapted from that is provided by Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, 359. She comments: 'That Matthew Paris was well aware of the commercial as well as strategic importance of Acre at the end of a major trade route from the interior of Asia to the shores of the Mediterranean is graphically illustrated by the procession of engaging beasts of burden, a camel (*camelus*), ox (*bubalus*), and mule (*mulus*) slowly

- making their way along the merchants' caravan route across the Bedouin territories from Acre to Damascus'.
- 89 Higgins, *Mandeville*, x, notes that Mandeville's 'tolerance', not extended to the Jews, is also withheld from 'some nomads like the Bedouins'.
- 90 See note 24, above.
- 91 Jodi A. Byrd, '(Post) Colonial Plainsongs: Toward Native Literary Worldings', in *Unlearning the Language of Conquest*, ed. Four Arrows (Don Trent Jacobs) (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 87–8.
- 92 Many others names for this place exist, of course, in other languages, past and present.
- 93 Israel, on its own, is a modern designation
- 94 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 3.
- 95 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 3.
- 96 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 3, n. 2.
- 97 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *System of Ethical Life and First Philosophy of Spirit*, ed. and trans. H. S. Harris and T. M. Knox (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1979), 221: 'The first act, by which Adam established his lordship over the animals, is this, that he gave them a name'.
- 98 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Preface: In a Time of Monsters', *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), viii.
- 99 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 202–3.
- 100 P.D.A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London: The British Library, 2012), looks at eight of twenty-three detailed medieval maps of the region.
- 101 For more on the Psalter Map and Matthew Paris's maps, see Asa Simon Mittman, 'Forking Paths? Matthew Paris, Jorge Luis Borges, and Maps of the Labyrinth', *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*, IV.I (2013), 134–60.
- 102 See Higgins, 'Defining the Earth's Center' and Cohen, 'Pilgrimages, Travel Writing'.
- 103 Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, 356.
- 104 Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, 355–6.
- 105 Thank you to the reviewer for suggesting this line of argument.
- 106 Higgins, *Writing East*, 42.
- 107 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 3; emphasis added.
- 108 Higgins, *Writing East*, 157.
- 109 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 157–8.
- 110 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 159.
- 111 Andrew Colin Gow, *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age, 1200–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 38.
- 112 Lochrie, 'Provincializing Medieval Europe', 593.
- 113 Daniel K. Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009), 79.
- 114 Leonid S. Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography: Inventory, Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006), 199, translations based on Lewis, 'with slight corrections' by Chekin. At greater length: 'The enclosure of the Caspian Mountains. Here dwell the Jews whom God enclosed through the prayer of King Alexander and who will come forth on the eve of the Day of Judgment and will bring great destruction to all the people. They are enclosed by high and great mountains and cannot get out. This region ... in relation to Jerusalem. But the mountains are far away toward the northeast from Acre and Jerusalem'. See Chekin for a transcription of the Old French.
- 115 Cohen, 'Between Christian and Jew'.
- 116 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 158.
- 117 J.A. Giles, *Matthew Paris's English History: From the Year 1235 to 1273* (London: G. Bell, 1889), 357–8, available online through the Hathi Trust Digital Library at <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.32000000637670> (accessed March 2014), gives an account of a conspiracy whereby a group of Jews plans to smuggle arms to the Tartars, whom Matthew constructs as Jews.
- 118 Krummel, *Crafting Jewishness in Medieval England*, 74 and 88: 'Because of their resistance to homogeneity, the Jews could not become part of the national fantasy and were expelled. Because of their perceived difference, Jews are mapped outside the national

- English community and grafted onto an undefined elsewhere space deep inside the earth, far under the Caspian Mountains, beyond Cathay’.
- 119 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, ‘Jews of Stone’, *In the Middle* (24 February 2010), <http://www.inthemedievalmiddle.com/2010/02/jews-of-stone.html> (accessed 4 October 2012). The Latin Vulgate text of Ezekiel 36:26 reads ‘Et dabo vobis cor novum et spiritum novum ponam in medio vestri et auferam cor lapideum de carne vestra et dabo vobis cor carneum’. See *Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Bonifatius Fisher, Robert Weber and Roger Gryson (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994). For sources on the Jews as ‘stone-hearted’, see Andrew Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 32.
 - 120 Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, 57 and Kupfer, ‘... lectres ... plus vrayes’, 100–1, esp. note 116.
 - 121 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 3; emphasis added.
 - 122 For a discussion of the development of the notion of Old and New in this regard, see Gerhard Falk, *The Jew in Christian Theology: Martin Luther's Anti-Jewish Vom Schem Hamphoras, Previously Unpublished in English, and Other Milestones in Church Doctrine Concerning Judaism* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 1992), 9–10, and Lipton, *Images of Intolerance*, chapter 3: ‘The People of the Book: Old Law, New Rituals, and the Word of God’.
 - 123 While now covered in a gold alloy, ‘[t]he original dome was probably of copper over wood, though at a very early date the legend of a gilt dome made its appearance and eventually became a sort of reality’. Oleg Grabar and Saïd Nuseibeh, *Dome of the Rock* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 22, 26.
 - 124 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 49–50. Curiously, the *Book* credits the Roman emperor Hadrian with the construction of the Templum Domini/Dome of the Rock, claiming that he ‘remade the city of Jerusalem and the temple in the same way that Solomon had; and he did not want any Jews to live there, but only Christians, for although he was not Christian he preferred Christians to all other peoples after those of his own law’.
 - 125 It merits mention that many Christian websites still refer to the structure as *Templum Domini*.
 - 126 Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (New York: Guilford Press, 2010), 232–4.
 - 127 Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps*, 239, also discusses the fraught nature of the choice of languages on maps of the region.
 - 128 Tomasch, ‘Introduction: Medieval Geographical Desire’, 1.
 - 129 The image appears in many websites and photographs, and a number of websites cite a description of the emblem that was originally found on a now defunct website run by Hamas, linked to: <http://www.palestine-info.com/hamas/about/index.htm#anchor214634>. However, the Wayback Machine Internet Archive provides access to this website. See The Palestinian Information Center, ‘About Hamas’, *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement* (no date, Wayback Machine capture 25 January 2001), <http://web.archive.org/web/200101252357/http://www.palestine-info.com/hamas/about/index.htm> (accessed 18 October 2011). The Palestinian Information Center, independent of the Palestinian Authority, now runs their site through <http://www.palestine-info.co.uk/>, but the information about the emblem no longer appears.
 - 130 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 203.
 - 131 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 172 and 174.
 - 132 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 175.
 - 133 James Elkins, *Our Beautiful, Dry, and Distant Texts: Art History as Writing* (University Park: Penn State Press, 1997), xxi.
 - 134 Elkins, *Our Beautiful, Dry, and Distant Texts*, xx.
 - 135 Karen Eileen Overbey, ‘Postcolonial’, in *Medieval Art History Today: Critical Terms*, special issue, *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), 145–56, at 145.
 - 136 See Overbey, ‘Postcolonial’, 147, and also Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 10–12, chapter 1.5, ‘What Does it Mean To Be A Modern?’ This has been a central goal of the new

journal, *postmedieval*, and of a rapidly growing body of scholarship that seeks to locate within discussions of the distant past relevance for the contemporary world.

137 Bynum, 'Wonder', 24.

138 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 183–4. Emphasis added and gloss ('without error') inserted in text from Higgins's footnote.

139 F. Donald Logan, *The Medieval Historian and the Quest for Certitude*, The Etienne Gilson Series 27 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2005), 2.

140 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 202.

141 Higgins, *Mandeville*, 203.

142 Logan, *The Medieval Historian*, 1.

5 Conquest and coexistence in sixteenth-century Granada

Imposing orders in the Alhambra's Mexuar

Lara Eggleton

This chapter examines the decorative programme of the Alhambra palace 'Mexuar', a former Nasrid council chamber used as a private chapel following the Christian conquest of Granada in 1492. In particular, it focuses on a pair of ceramic and stucco murals placed above twin doors on its south wall in the first half of the sixteenth century. Each displays a single Doric column wrapped in the classically inspired 'Plus Oultre' banderole, a variation of the Pillars of Hercules device that was central to Charles V's heraldic repertoire (Figure 5.1), surmounted by an imperial crown. Probably executed by Moriscos (Muslims who had converted to Christianity), the murals continue the Nasrid tradition in terms of style, material and technique.¹

I argue that the resulting arrangement of Nasrid features and Habsburg imperial symbolism couched in the regional style is indicative of the specific cultural and political conditions of post-conquest Granada, and complicates an idea of 'coexistence' or 'exchange' as they pertain to both cultural groupings and artistic forms. Not only do the Mexuar's adaptations and juxtapositions make visible the complex relations between Catholics and remaining minorities in Andalusia, they can also be seen as an autonomous style generated under the supervision of the Castilian court. I here examine these material interventions in relation to both the increasingly unstable 'frontier' climate of post-conquest Granada and the disparities between regional and imperial interests. The hybrid styles that emerged during this period can be discerned in both the Nasrid palace renovations and the royal building programme under Charles V (r. 1519–1556). I argue that it was the unique conditions of this transitional period that led to the amalgamation of multiple and conflicting architectural and decorative modes within a space that continues to challenge art and architectural historians.² Beyond the seemingly pure categories 'Nasrid' and 'Habsburg', postcolonial notions of hybridity, transculturation and translation enable a focus on the dis/continuities and the disjunctive conjunction of cultural patterns.

The Mexuar is often overlooked by scholars on the basis that its many layers of ruined and restored features resist a single periodised reading. It is precisely its overlaps and contradictions, however, which, read through the postcolonial lenses of hybridity, hegemony, resistance, assimilation and fractured temporalities, provide an important record of the identity formations taking place in a mixed and fluctuating, post-conquest society that was further subsumed within the wider Habsburg Empire. The fusion of imperial and Nasrid symbolism suggests a nuanced articulation of power relations in the decades following the ascension of Charles V, the Burgundian grandson of Catholic monarchs Ferdinand II and Isabel I, in 1516. While the prominent position of the heraldic murals on either side of the Mexuar's altar signifies the expansion



Figure 5.1 One of two twin murals dating from the reign of Charles V relocated to the eastern wall of the Mexuar Hall, with Doric column and Plus Ultra banderole (photograph: Lara Eggleton).

of the Christian empire into former Muslim territory, it also represents a liminal and unstable space of post-conquest where the centre of power is not easily distinguishable from its margins. In addition to managing disintegrating Christian-Muslim relations in the absence of the Emperor, the Spanish court was under pressure to preserve its own customs and cultural identity in the shadow of a pan-European power ruled by a foreign-born king, whose bloodline was traced through the monarch's third daughter, known as 'Juana the Mad'. It is of art historical significance, then, that the redecoration of the converted chapel under Spanish governance took place at the same time as large-scale imperial commissions, including the Emperor's new royal palace, which has been said to reflect 'the architectural anachronisms in a Spain already evolving its own plateresque style'.³ Rather than deviations from an established set of traditions, sixteenth-century building programmes can be seen as registers of social and political transformation, their decorative programmes similarly plural and unfixed. The peculiar arrangements of symbol, style and technique found within the Mexuar remain outside the broad stylistic categories of Renaissance or Islamicate, or more regional vocabularies such as Mudéjar, Isabelline or Plateresque. Taken separately, individual elements traverse the highly unstable borders between 'Western' and 'non-Western' styles, and medieval and modern periods. A transhistorical 'work in progress', the Mexuar refuses existing temporal and categorical designations and warrants a separate, postcolonial reading of the power dynamics and competing historical legacies that gave rise to its hybrid forms.

In seeking to interpret the boundary crossings, doublings, hybridisations and transculturations present in the Alhambra after its transformation into a Christian palace, I seek the support of a number of scholars who have productively, though not always univocally, thought through analogous issues elsewhere. The concept of hybridity became salient in postcolonial thought in the mid-1990s through Robert Young's book *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*.⁴ Young posits that 'at its simplest, ... hybridity implies a disruption and forcing together of any unlike living things, ... making difference into sameness'.⁵ This productive but divisive notion of hybridity was transferred into Medieval Studies by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, who has used the concept of cultural hybridity to explore instances of 'conflictual convergence' and 'discordant commingling of differences' in medieval Britain, part of his project devoted to the 'Postcolonial Middle Ages' in which he identifies the flourishing of 'recalcitrant impurities ... between imagined or desired absolutes'.⁶ In the wake of conquest as well as of less martial kinds of encounter, fusions of difference inevitably arise. Some postcolonial theorists have labelled such conflictual convergence as hybridity,⁷ while Cohen warns against mistaking these fusions for syncretism or synthesis: 'Never synthetic in the sense of homogenizing, hybridity is a fusion *and* a disjunction, a conjoining of differences that cannot simply harmonize'.⁸ Cohen argues that in the conjoining of disharmonious differences, hybridity 'does not indicate some peaceful melding of coloniser and colonised. It does not imply the purity or homogeneity of categories neither obliterates nor supersedes the histories it intermingles'.⁹

Rejecting hybridity on the basis that it assumes the combination of separate and distinct elements, Finbarr Flood has adopted what he sees as more dynamic models of transculturation and translation to discuss 'Hindu-Muslim' material culture, with the aim of 'exploring and historicising the dialectic between alterity and identity, continuity and change, confrontation and co-option that shaped transcultural encounters'.¹⁰ Such studies have revealed the value of contemporary postcolonial scholarship

to an understanding of the past, specifically by emphasising power structures and intercultural or transcultural relations that accompany periods of conquest and occupation. Continuing in the anthropological vein of Mary Louise Pratt and Comparative Literature scholars such as Sheldon Pollock,¹¹ Flood has developed a theory of transculturation that underlines ‘the multidirectional nature of exchange evident in material culture’.¹² This application of the transculturation model to material culture acknowledges the innate hybridity of architectural forms, and the dynamic processes of translation that can occur both within (always, already) and between cultural codes and stylistic vocabularies. While there is doubtless hybridity present in the Mexuar – indeed, the space can be understood as an embodiment of hybrid formations – Flood’s approach is particularly useful in recognising the polyphony of voices already present in the space at the time of the conquest, and how these were in turn translated into a new imperial programme under Charles V.

The Mexuar – an Alhambra space in transition

The foundations of the Mexuar are part of a private palace erected for Ismā‘īl I between 1314 and 1325, which was almost completely demolished and rebuilt by his grandson Muhammad V between 1362 and 1365 for the occasion of the *mawlid*, or Birth of the Prophet celebration.¹³ It thereafter served as the seat of administration for the meeting of viziers and the reception of subjects by the sultan on certain days of the week (‘Mexuar’ derives from the root of the Arabic word for ‘consultation’, *al-Māsawār* or *al-Māsawara*).¹⁴ Following the events of 1492 it was adapted for religious use by a small congregation, while the adjacent spaces were converted into living quarters. Its floor was lowered to accommodate a choir balcony, of which only the balustrade remains (Figure 5.2). In the early decades of the sixteenth century the original north wall was destroyed and the space was extended across an outdoor corridor, with a row of shuttered windows installed along the west wall and a second entrance added on the west side of the altar for access to the sacristy.¹⁵ Ceramic dados and carved plaster elements were re-appropriated from other areas of the palace to decorate the new extension, rendering the original scheme indecipherable. The addition of an upper floor in 1540 led to the dismantling of a gallery of windows and a glass lantern ceiling, which were replaced with the current *ataujerado* or carved wooden panel ceiling. These renovations transformed the Mexuar from a centralised, public-facing space with a vertical structure into an elongated private room with a horizontal projection.¹⁶ It has since undergone numerous changes, including a further renovation in preparation for Philip V’s royal visit in 1729,¹⁷ and a series of invasive restorations in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries aimed at returning the space to its ‘original’ Nasrid state.¹⁸ The dismantling of the altar and reopening of the south entrance in 1924 caused the relocation of the left mural midway along the eastern wall, rather ironically leaving its gypsum crown behind. Currently serving as the main entrance for visitors to the Nasrid palaces, its remaining features only hint at its various stages of transformation, some of which are visible in early photographs (Figures 5.3 and 5.4).¹⁹

At some point before 1550, most likely in the 1530s, the two murals were inserted into the ornamental scheme by Morisco artisans, positioned above the doors flanking the central altar. In his ‘Itinerarium’ of 1494, German traveller Hieronymus Münzer reported that Morisco workers were restoring the Nasrid palace in conformance with

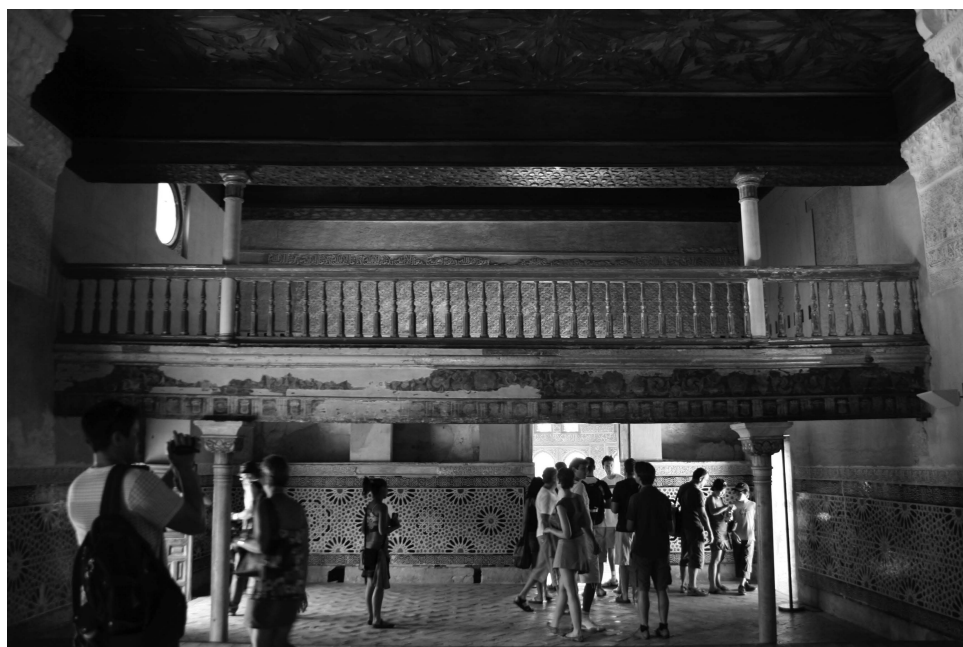


Figure 5.2 View of the north wall of the Mexuar Hall, with balustrade of the choir balcony still intact (photograph: Lara Eggleton).

its style. After 1550, however, increasingly intolerant policies ended their involvement in the reparation and decoration of the palaces. The murals are not specifically mentioned in the administrative records of the Alhambra, which consist of scattered and incomplete daily accounts or ledgers of expenditures (*nóminas*) that date from 1537 onwards.²⁰ There is evidence that Charles V ordered the continuation of repairs to the Alhambra on 12 October 1516, shortly before he left for Flanders,²¹ and a payment register dating 17–27 October 1537 notes the application of Morisco tiles bearing the ‘PV’ (‘Plus Oultre’) inscription to two new doors to the north of the *hammam*.²² It is likely that the murals were designed around the same time, under the authority of Alhambra governor Luis Hurtado, although the exact level of his involvement (or that of chief architect Pedro Machuca), is uncertain. While many of its original elements were lost, designers maintained an overall Nasrid character through the transferral of structural columns and dados from other areas of the palace to decorate its extension, and the design of new elements in the former style. Both appropriations and the stylisation of imperial symbolism productively complicate the meaning of ‘marginality’ as it pertains to Muslims, Moriscos and Spanish Christians. During the first half of the sixteenth century building projects were negotiated almost exclusively in the absence of the Emperor, resulting in new configurations that reflected inherited styles and fresh collaborations.

In focusing on the hybridity of the Mexuar it is not my intention to downplay the deep political and ethnic divisions that emerged during this period, or to propose a shared aesthetic across the Christian-Muslim divide. Instead, I wish to highlight intersecting

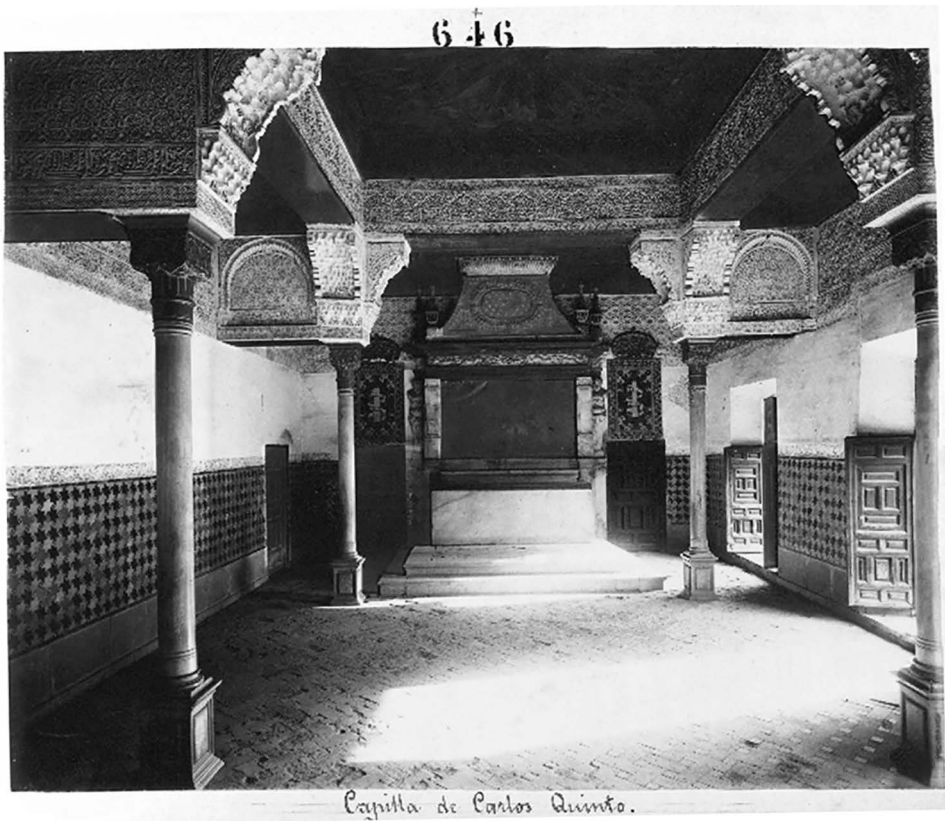


Figure 5.3 José García Ayola, 'Capilla de Carlos Quinto' (chimneypiece incorporated into altar of the Mexuar Chapel, Nasrid palace complex, Alhambra), Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife (APAG), Colección de Fotografías, F-05417.

lines of stylistic influence across different periods – pre- and post-conquest, and medieval and modern – that facilitated the unique cases of material translation found within the Alhambra.

The Mexuar, often disregarded as a 'hodgepodge' of arbitrary features, comes alive through a postcolonial reading of its surfaces, helping to unearth the hierarchies and networks that informed its material transformation. The particular brand of imperial heraldry that surfaced in the Mexuar in the sixteenth century reflects not only the pluricultural and religious landscape of post-conquest Granada, but also the sometimes ambivalent relationship between the Habsburg Empire and the Castilian court. In their unique blending of classically-derived and Nasrid decorative elements, the murals translate the Emperor's heraldic device in the distinctive visual language of Al-Andalus – a territory long fought for and won by the joined kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. To be seen by his Granadan subjects as the righteous heir to this conquered realm, the 'Plus Oultre' device required a transformation that emphasised Charles's familial and symbolic link to the monarchy's victory over Muslim power in the region. Paradoxically, this was achieved by an aesthetic 'becoming Andalusí'. Thus the careful



Figure 5.4 Contemporary photograph of the Mexuar after the excavation of the sixteenth-century floor, removal of the altar and relocation of the left Plus Ultra mural (photograph: Lara Eggleton).

integration of the murals within the larger Nasrid ornamental programme complicates historical perceptions of post-conquest Granada as a fully Christianised realm. The ‘*convivencia*’ model, which historicises an Al-Andalus as a place in which the ‘people of the book’ (Muslims, Christians and Jews) lived peacefully together, has been critically revisited by scholars in recent decades in the interest of building a more contextualised picture of relations both before *and after* the Christian conquest.²³ According to Maya Soifer, during this period tolerance *and* intolerance became inseparable in the Christian mind, in such a way that the religious inferiority of minority cultures ‘justified both repression and acceptance’.²⁴ This duality may go some way toward explaining the outsider status of Moriscos even while they were consulted for their knowledge and expertise.

The following section explores the social and political landscape of post-conquest Granada and the complex networks that gave rise to the hybrid interventions in the Nasrid palace. I then go on to investigate the interpretation of the imperial style by the Spanish court, briefly discussing the new royal palace in relation to an emerging humanist-inspired classicism in Granada. With these developments in mind, I return to the Mexuar interventions and their intersecting sets of meaning. In so doing, what are too often seen as ‘interferences’ in the history of the Alhambra are revealed as integral

to local and imperial identity formation in the first half of the sixteenth century. The Mexuar provides concrete evidence that, 'the creation of Christian Granada was not an event but rather an historical process, and a gradual and incomplete one at that'.²⁵ By the mid-century this process was defined almost solely through its discontinuities, so that a tangled network of interrelated yet opposing symbols and styles found their place upon the walls of courtly spaces. A postcolonial study of the Mexuar exposes these multiple, coexisting voices in relation to the particular historical conditions from which they arose. Responding to the need for a more nuanced understanding of influence as it relates to specific moments of conflict and coexistence in the region, I address changes to the Mexuar during the sixteenth century to gain a deeper understanding of the conflicted climate of Habsburg Spain in the aftermath of the conquest.

'Living together' in Granada after 1492

Unlike earlier conquered Islamic centres such as Córdoba and Seville, Muslims remained in Granada in significant numbers even after the traditional partitioning and conversions administered by the frontier parish.²⁶ Both Muslim and Christian converts were heavily taxed citizens who faced discrimination and restrictions on their freedom. In an essay on the politics of memory, Mary Elizabeth Perry has convincingly argued that the treatment of Moriscos during the sixteenth century helped to forge a collective memory of repression that would in turn 'support resistance to the Christian rulers of early modern Spain'.²⁷ Surrounded by the material remains of the fallen dynasty, they would have been reminded on a daily basis of a time when the city was under Nasrid rule. Perry observes that most people living in sixteenth-century Spain 'learned of their history not so much from books as from the very stones on which they walked, the buildings of their towns and cities, the fountains and water ways, [and] the towers that protected their lands and rivers'.²⁸ The fact that Morisco artisans were brought in to restore and transform the Nasrid palaces to suit the needs of Christian leaders indicates that their skills were prized, but little is known about the precise nature of this transaction, or how converted, often forcibly converted, Muslims felt about reinscribing the former rulers' walls with the images and symbols of their conquerors.

In her study of late sixteenth-century Granada, Kate Harris writes that the creation of civic identity was formed for remaining Moriscos through a process of 'compromise and cooperation between centre and periphery', so that minorities were increasingly subjected to processes of assimilation and discrimination through which their own cultural and religious traditions became 'hybridized and unintelligible'.²⁹ At the same time, it is important not to label them retrospectively as a purely oppressed or marginalised population, for the position of converted Muslims in society fluctuated throughout the century. Mark Meyerson and Edward English have challenged the view of converted populations in Christian Spain as 'marginal', on the basis that it 'obscures the subtleties and complexities of ethno-religious interaction as the groups and individuals in question experienced it'.³⁰ Discarding ambiguous categories such as 'marginality' and 'otherness' to understand relations during this period, they instead focus on

how each ethnic and religious group dealt with the tension between power and powerlessness, how and why certain social and intellectual boundaries among groups were established and why at times they were crossed, and how such boundary-crossing caused social tension among and identity crises within groups.³¹

Correspondingly, the study of texts and objects from this period requires that close attention be paid to the fluidity of power relations and permeability of identity formations, rather than relying on traditional models of conflict and tolerance that tend to accompany studies of difference. Groups 'living together' in post-conquest Granada proved to be dynamic and highly adaptive on both sides of the power divide. However, as the terms and conditions changed for Muslims living in Granada, relations with Christians grew increasingly unstable and volatile.

In the first few years following the conquest of Granada, the archbishop of Granada and a powerful local family worked together to achieve a modicum of interethnic accommodation. Between 1492 and 1499, remaining Muslims in Castile were offered optional conversion while their customs were tolerated under the direction of Hernando de Talavera, archbishop of Granada between 1493 and 1507 and Queen Isabel's trusted advisor and confessor between 1452 and 1504. Talavera's reforms included training priests in Arabic and the acceptance of Muslim traditional dress and language within the church.³² These initiatives were fully supported by the Mendoza family, dedicated supporters of the Castilian Trastámara dynasty since 1369. Under Don Íñigo López de Mendoza y Quiñones (second Count of Tendilla and first Marquis of Mondéjar, referred to hereafter as 'Tendilla'), a certain level of trust was established and maintained between Christian and Muslim groups.

At the end of the fifteenth century the effects of their good will were abruptly reversed by the reforms of Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo and Grand Inquisitor and Regent of Castile.³³ Religious and ethnic discrimination was exacerbated by the rise of ecclesiastical power within the kingdom, spreading fear and bitterness among minority groups who felt they had been betrayed. New reforms gradually removed power from the hands of supporters of Muslim toleration, such as Talavera and Tendilla, as the balance tipped from a more military-ruled council administration led by *caballeros* or knights, toward one led by *letrados* or learned jurists. The *letrados* used a combination of scholastic political theory and Roman law to impose a rationalising universal order within the political sphere, and strict regulation of 'correct' religious practice, which would have a devastating effect on remaining minorities in Granada.³⁴

Isabel's eventual acceptance of Cisneros's hardline strategies resulted in the public burning of Arabic manuscripts and the implementation of a forceful conversion programme in 1499. These events provoked the first major Muslim uprising, after which the archbishop decreed the acceptance of baptism as a necessary condition for pardon of those accused of rebellion.³⁵ In 1501 Isabel issued a decree that all Muslims must convert to Christianity or leave the kingdom, and over the next three decades a series of royal mandates banned Arabic written script and prohibited traditional clothing, food, festive dances, and other elements supposedly representative of the Muslim faith. Thus the 'Morisco problem' was born, which played itself out in a downward spiral of exclusion. The 1530s saw the imprisonment, seizure of property, public lashing and occasional executions of 'crypto-Muslims' under the Inquisition.³⁶ This transformed what had been a relatively peaceful demographic into a 'sullen, suspicious population', provoking guerrilla retaliation from outposts in the Alpujarras region and the north coast of Africa, where many persecuted Moriscos had taken refuge. Helen Nader has observed that these policies had 'an immediate and permanent effect that put an ever-increasing strain on the military and political resources of the kingdom'.³⁷ As the kingdom gradually became Christianised, the size of the Muslim

refugee community increased and many of them participated in a series of raids on the Spanish coast that continued into the seventeenth century. From the start, Muslim rebellions were suspected as part of a widespread political and religious movement against the Habsburgs and Catholic Christendom, adding to existing pressures from the growing threat of the Reformation and the French-supported Ottoman advance. These factors ensured that Granada remained a political and military frontier zone long after conquest, with uprisings stoking fears of a potential Turkish invasion that might mobilise the Morisco population (whom many saw as 'crypto-Muslims') from within the borders of Spain.³⁸

Given the long period of conflict following the Christian conquest, it is hardly surprising that a number of scholars have challenged the symbolic value of 1492 as both the endpoint of Muslim presence in Spain and the start of European expansion into the New World. María Rosa Menocal has argued that the traditional view of this event as the beginning of a progressive Western era which replaced the 'darkness, ignorance, superstition and chanting' of the medieval period, draws attention away from the diverse and fractured populations of the city following the conquest.³⁹ Conversely, she suggests that the unique conditions of the period should evoke 'a vision of spectacular chaos and multiplicity of voices'.⁴⁰ Both despite and as a result of the violent separation of religious and cultural groups under the supervision of Cisneros and the Inquisition, it was at this precise moment that the shared aspects of Andalusian culture became most visible. Jerrilynn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal and Abigail Krasner Balbale have argued in *The Arts of Intimacy* that the diversity that had characterised the wider region for centuries had by this point become 'the cultural bedrock of the Castilians, and of the Spanish nation state that followed'.⁴¹ Examining the development of Castilian identity throughout the *Reconquista*, they have defined 1492 as 'a tear in the fabric of our historical memory', followed by a century of 'often brutal effort to redefine Castilian – now Spanish – identity as something purely Christian in blood, belief and cultural habit'.⁴²

Ending their volume at this point of fracture, Dodds, Menocal and Balbale give scant attention to the production of art and architecture following the events of 1492, despite their insistence that Castilian identity had become inextricably tied with the music, language, visualities, and material traditions of Al-Andalus. Practices of 'borrowing' and 'exchange' took new form under the conditions of heightened discrimination, forced conversions, and prosecution under the Inquisition. The admixture and hybridisation of styles and symbols found within the Mexuar might more accurately be understood as part of a process of translation, during which vocabularies were merged, syncretised, subverted or supplanted.⁴³ Similar dialectic strategies of confrontation and co-option had been employed by both Muslim and Christian courts in the preceding centuries. In her analysis of Muslim garments produced for Christian nobility during the thirteenth century, María Judith Feliciano observes that as Castile consolidated its political dominance throughout the peninsula, monarchs increasingly incorporated and displayed aesthetic elements found in rival Muslim courts. This resulted in the sartorial practice of translating Castilian iconography into Islamic decorative and epigraphic languages.⁴⁴ Feliciano explains that even when woven into the same fine textiles and presented alongside distinctively Andalusí decoration, Castilian heraldic motifs 'continued to send a most intelligible message of Castilian socio-cultural primacy'.⁴⁵ Although the terms of exchange and absorption were significantly altered by the sixteenth century, the precedent for artistic translation was well established.

The Habsburg style under Spanish governance

Crowned Holy Roman Emperor at the age of nineteen, Charles V was charged with managing extensive European domains whilst keeping the growing Protestant threat at bay and ensuring the growth of the empire into Europe, Africa, and the Americas. In Spain, Muslim uprisings continued to draw attention to the vulnerability of his inherited realm, and in 1522, after a long period spent in other dominions, he showed his commitment by making Granada the temporary seat of his vast empire. He commissioned a new royal palace and ordered a second royal residency to be built within the Nasrid complex, as well as a new Cathedral in the lower city next to the Capilla Real where his grandparents lay entombed. The style championed by Charles V was deliberately classical and Roman, merging imperial with Roman Catholic stylistic references. The Emperor's heraldry was liberally dotted around these spaces, sometimes incorporating Burgundian, Spanish and Portuguese symbols. Designers were faced with the challenge of merging the regional building and decorative styles with the iconography of the Habsburg court, itself an amalgam of pan-European and classically inspired elements. The Renaissance-style palace, commissioned at the same time as the Nasrid palace renovations, reflects a more flexible and incorporative attitude toward building that flourished under Spanish governance, with only occasional interference from the Emperor and his advisors. The variations on the imported imperial style and iconography reflect the autonomy of the Spanish court, who continued the longstanding tradition of stylistic adaptation in the region.

While the interventions of the Mexuar are often discussed in relation to the Catholic monarchs' supposed admiration of Nasrid buildings (exemplified by their brief residency in the Alhambra following the conquest), they are rarely considered in relation to sixteenth-century architectural developments. A growing trend toward contracting foreign designers and the importation of classical models coincided with interventions in the Nasrid palaces, and is therefore relevant to a study of the Mexuar. The unique Renaissance style that characterises the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries evolved independently from Italian examples, growing from the Isabelline style, an elaboration of the Gothic that incorporated Flemish, Italian and Mudéjar elements, typified in the Royal Chapel of Granada. 'Plateresque' refers broadly to the inflection of the classical style with medieval influences, though it originates from the earlier Spanish technique of plating buildings with silver or silver alloy. Both traditions informed the development of a period of Roman-inspired architecture in Granada, of which the new royal palace and Cathedral of Granada are exemplary. The palace was built in close proximity to the Alhambra so that Charles could have direct access between them (the initiative came after his honeymoon spent in the Nasrid palaces following his marriage to Isabel of Portugal in 1526), and construction was financed solely by Morisco taxes. Work halted as relations disintegrated and the palace was not completed in the Emperor's lifetime, eventually abandoned without a roof in 1637.

Charles V spent only a limited amount of time in Spain, and his unfinished Roman-style palace was increasingly seen as 'a monumental symbol of power by an absent king'.⁴⁶ In his long absences the Emperor entrusted the management of both the Nasrid palaces and the new royal palace building programme to the governor of the Alhambra. Until their fall from grace at mid-century, the Mendoza family presided over both projects throughout his reign, with Tendilla having been named Captain General of Granada and *alcaide* (governor) of the Alhambra following the events of 1492,

positions he held until his health failed in 1512. His oldest son, Luis Hurtado, oversaw architectural projects in Granada until his death in 1543, acting independently of the royal city council and continuing his father's policies of religious tolerance, which were increasingly at cross-purposes with imperial policies of Catholic hegemony.

In 1528 the role of 'governor's squire' and primary architect of the new royal palace was given to the Italian-trained painter, Pedro Machuca, who was also responsible for some of the alterations in and around the Nasrid complex (the longstanding association between the Machuca and Mendoza families may also have facilitated this arrangement).⁴⁷ While a number of other Italian-influenced architects and designers were also consulted over the building's plans, it was Tendilla who originally introduced the Renaissance style to the Castilian monarchs, despite the fact that they continued to build in an ornate Gothic style.⁴⁸ Impressed by the projects of the papal chancellor and friend while on a two-year ambassadorial mission to Rome in 1484, Tendilla initiated a Spanish revival of classical philosophy and architecture in the decades leading up to the royal commissions.⁴⁹ As Nader has argued, rather than a simple diffusion of Italian influence, the Renaissance in Castilian art and literature was formed on its own terms, part of a larger historical construction in which Spanish humanists saw themselves as the cultural heirs of the ancient Romans.

It was under Mendoza patronage that the Spanish Renaissance reached its fullest development, informed by a relativistic understanding of history based on the Roman model of ethical conduct.⁵⁰ Nader explains that rather than seeing the past as 'a record of God's judgment on men, or as a cycle, or as a decline from an ideal state', humanists regarded each historical period as unique and judged societies according to the context of their own time, place, and circumstances.⁵¹ J. H. Elliot has observed that this earlier culture of Spanish humanism migrated from Italy and Flanders as a result of the monarchs' openness to international relations.⁵² In addition to informing negotiations with minority groups, another contribution of humanist ideology was a heightened awareness of the past, which may have contributed to the preservation of monuments from the period of Muslim rule.⁵³ The Catholic monarchs' choice to build alongside significant buildings rather than destroying them and erecting new structures in their place, and later the Emperor's partial interventions into existing Muslim building complexes, distinguish this period from earlier stages of conquest.

The limited involvement of Charles V in these various building projects allowed his governors a wide berth in which to adapt and develop their own style, one that invariably found its way into the new royal palace. Under the advice of Machuca and Luis Hurtado, Charles V confirmed the designs for the palace when he returned to Spain in 1533. Its Renaissance character is immediately obvious: its massy exterior is complete with rusticated blocks and colonnaded façades, with elaborate marble portals or *portadas* displaying ascending classical orders and triumphal friezes (Figure 5.5). The south and west façades, completed between 1533 and 1542, contain a number of variations on or departures from the Roman model. The unusual juxtaposition of Doric and Ionic pilasters on the south *portada* is thought to be either a radical innovation or a mistake on the part of Pedro Machuca or one of the governor's many consultants. Manfredo Tafuri has criticised Earl Rosenthal's authoritative portrait of Machuca as an architect 'locked in a futile struggle with the mediocre and outdated tastes of hypothetical imperial courtiers', and his reading of the many solecisms found within the design (such as the non-coinciding heights of the orders throughout the interior and exterior of the building) as simply 'brutal' or crude interpretations of



Figure 5.5 View of the Palace of Charles V from the northwest, with stone portico, centre (photograph: Lara Eggleton).

Rafael's repertoire.⁵⁴ Instead, Tafuri suggests that the unique monumental programme at Granada may have provided 'a strategy of legitimisation for the new Spanish state'.⁵⁵ While Tafuri suggested that Charles's approval of Machuca's plans may have been nothing more than recognition of a 'bland Italianism' as the accepted style for royal palaces at the time,⁵⁶ Cammy Brothers saw the imperial 'Roman' Italianism as ideologically informed. Writing about the Alhambra palace of Charles V, she posited that 'the relationship of the two buildings symbolically replicates the struggle Charles was carrying out throughout the country: to legitimise his empire by demonstrating his mastery over Spain's Moorish past'.⁵⁷

Beyond any possible practical concessions made or awkward changeovers of architects and builders, the classical discontinuities in the Palace of Charles V and their so-called architectural 'transgressions' can also be seen as part of an established practice of interpreting and adapting existing models in early sixteenth-century Granada. Rather than poorly executed imitations of classical tropes, as they have often been regarded, they might equally serve as proof that the Spanish Renaissance, both in form and in substance, was pursuing its own formal solutions. It was, after all, through the influence of the Mendoza family and not the Emperor, that Granada came to have one of Europe's earliest Renaissance cathedrals and a new royal palace expressed in a unique vernacular style. While the classical building style was eventually adopted

across the Habsburg Empire, its early manifestations in southern Spain possessed a unique regional quality. The intermingling of stylistic elements had a long history in the region, and remained a distinguishing feature of the Spanish Renaissance. The Mendoza governors' interest in the classical revival happened to corresponded neatly with the Emperor's expansionist agenda, but it is important to distinguish theirs as firmly rooted in the humanist ideals of the earlier century. Their views would help to shape both the socio-political landscape of Granada and the architectural styles that emerged in the first half of the sixteenth century. Whilst the halting construction of the royal palace mirrored the breakdown of interfaith relations in the kingdom and the cursory investment of the Emperor, the Nasrid palaces seem to have provided a space in which to display complex stylistic configurations that reflected both Granada's rich artistic heritage and the power of a new, foreign regime. As the Spanish court strove to forge an identity that was both a part of, and independent from these influences, a unique hybrid style of incommensurable elements was created.

Intersecting orders in the programme of the Mexuar

Having explored the intertwined and conflicting political agendas of post-conquest Granada, I will return to the imperial symbolism of the Mexuar. As I have argued, its material manifestations must be considered within the context of internal divisions within the Castilian court, as well as the religious and cultural tensions that proliferated throughout the first half of the sixteenth century. Fabricated and integrated by Moriscos using traditional Nasrid techniques, the heraldic motif of Charles V – the twin Pillars of Hercules accompanied by the motto 'Plus Oultre' – was rendered through a unique regional filter of decorative languages. On the one hand, the insertion of the Pillars device into the Mexuar represents a physical and symbolic domination of the space, an effect galvanised by the carved gypsum crowns overlapping and interrupting the Nasrid plaster ornament (Figure 5.6). These crowns preserve and merge with the geometric Nasrid plaster ornament of the upper walls, with interlocking stars underlying and surrounding the crowns. The angular shapes of the Nasrid ornament still appear, spectre-like, underneath the field of blue paint that fills the golden contour of the imperial hoop crown. On the other hand, the fact that the murals have been 'customised' to match the style (*lazo*, i.e. geometric ornament), the techniques (*alictado* and moulded plasterwork panels), and the materials (tile, gypsum) of the room, hints at a more complex formula of integration. The involvement of Moriscos is a testament to a fleeting if complicated window of artisanal exchange, when converted Muslims became complicit in the inscription of a new Catholic regime upon the walls of their former rulers. To shed further light on this programme and its intersecting meanings, it is helpful to consider the symbolism of the heraldic device, and its particular relevance within a Spanish context.

The twin pillar motif accompanied by the motto 'Plus Oultre' was originally adapted for Charles in 1516 by an Italian of the Burgundian court, Luigi Marliano. Their mythology points to the control of Europe's maritime frontier, while its adaptation within the context of sixteenth-century Spain signals a much wider expansionist vision. 'Plus Oultre' is a French variation of the Emperor's motto, meaning 'further beyond' or 'more beyond', and is most likely an inversion of the Latin phrase 'Non Plus Ultra' ('nothing beyond'), a warning during ancient times of the perils of the ocean and the uninhabited lands beyond the Pillars of Hercules (Strait of Gibraltar,



Figure 5.6 Carved gypsum crowns originally above both heraldic murals (photograph: Lara Eggleton).

Bab-al-Azkak).⁵⁸ Through its adaptation Charles effectively trumped the aspirations of Hellenic and Roman rulers, signalling a new frontier of territorial expansion. This is bolstered by the Greek legend of the Pillars of Hercules, which were anchored by the demigod on either side of the Strait of Gibraltar to protect the gateway to the Mediterranean. The Habsburg vision projects beyond these borders, into the African continent and across the Atlantic to the West Indies/Americas. As Africa had by this time become a refuge for many Andalusí exiles, it has been suggested that the use of the device in Spain refers specifically to the mission of carrying Christianity into Africa as a logical extension of the Spanish *Reconquista*.⁵⁹ According to Rosenthal, the evocative power of the Pillars of Hercules emblem lay in its ability to bring together ‘the old prohibitive and the new Promethean significance of the columns and the aggressive religious fervour of the Crusades’.⁶⁰ Colonial aims were closely aligned with crusader rhetoric during this period, and the ‘Plus Oultre’ motto carried with it a strong message of the superiority of Catholicism over both Islam and Protestantism. Furthermore, the use of the strongest and most virile of Greek heroes reinforces the *letrados*’ claim to Spain’s classical lineage through Hercules, who they professed to be the first Spanish king. Harris explains that this narrative emerged as part of a growing historical mythology that saw Spanish culture predating Muslim presence on the Peninsula.⁶¹

Separated and placed at eye level on either side of the Mexuar’s chapel altar, the ‘Plus Oultre’ Pillars murals projected some or all of these messages, mainly to its private audiences.⁶² The heraldic device is found in various guises within the Alhambra and

the adjoined Palace of Charles V, but is usually carved in a naturalistic manner in stone or marble. The Renaissance-style fountain known as the *Pilar de Carlos V*, designed by Pedro Machuca and Italian sculptor Nicolás de Corte in 1545, incorporates the Pillars of Hercules device alongside the Habsburg eagle, the House of Tendilla coat of arms, the Granada coat of arms and the Order of the Golden Fleece (Figure 5.7). Another version appears in the marble fireplace designed by Pedro Machuca in one of the rooms of the Nasrid royal residence, containing a Habsburg eagle and globe showing Western Europe and Africa.

In contrast to these classically carved examples, the Mexuar device is rendered in ceramic using the Nasrid *alictado* technique, its design cut and trimmed from coloured tiles using delicate pliers called *alictates*. The tile murals are in keeping with the colour scheme of the Mexuar dados, comprised of light and dark blue, green, gold and white tiles. Their design borrows heavily from Nasrid motifs with a wide outer border containing interlacing blue, green, ochre/gold, and black geometric bands on a white ground that mimics in technique and design borders of the *alictado* *lazo* dado along the north wall, and the doorways in the main façade of the adjacent courtyard of the Cuarto Dorado. It may also, albeit in a different technique (*alictado* vs plasterwork), have continued the horizontal stucco bands directly adjacent to their right (Figure 5.1, top right), although the original placement of the murals



Figure 5.7 Pilar de Carlo V (commissioned by Tendilla and designed by Pedro Machuca), with Plus Ultra emblem located beneath the upper left fountain (photograph: Lara Eggleton).

is difficult to verify with any precision. The inner border, only slightly narrower than the outer one, intermingles Renaissance scrollwork with a pair of pseudo-Kufic ochre/gold flourishes reminiscent of the knotted-Kufic script in the plasterwork of the Comares Hall (Figures 5.8 and 5.9). These competing decorative elements, with their multiple and divergent cultural references, function as a frame for the plain Doric pillars and their banderoles, set white against a black field.

Miniature versions of the 'Plus Oultre' Pillars of Hercules device are also found on some of the eight- and sixteen-pointed star-shaped tiles that centre the dado schemes of 'ruedas' (geometric wheels, one of the characteristic shapes perfected in Nasrid *lazo*) on the north and east walls (Figures 5.10, 5.11 and 5.12). The Pillars symbol alternates with the double-headed eagle, also meticulously executed using the *alicatado* technique, and the Nasrid shield symbol, remnants of the original programme. This arrangement is perhaps the most overt in its interweaving of Nasrid and Habsburg iconography, technically seamless in its showcase of oppositional symbols of power. In this way they can be seen to both harness and subvert the decorative language of the conquered Nasrid kings. Further symbols of Nasrid power curiously remain in the space: the motto, '*wa la ghalib illa allah*' ('God is the only victor'), sits above and below each capital in the central quadrant of columns. A recurring feature in many of the Alhambra's ornamented spaces, the phrase was a recognisable symbol of the Nasrid dynasty, often contained within lozenges or strap formations.



Figure 5.8 Detail of decorative inner border, Plus Ultra mural, Mexuar (photograph: Lara Eggleton).



Figure 5.9 Kufic script pattern, southern wall of Hall of Ambassadors, Comares Palace (photograph: Lara Eggleton).

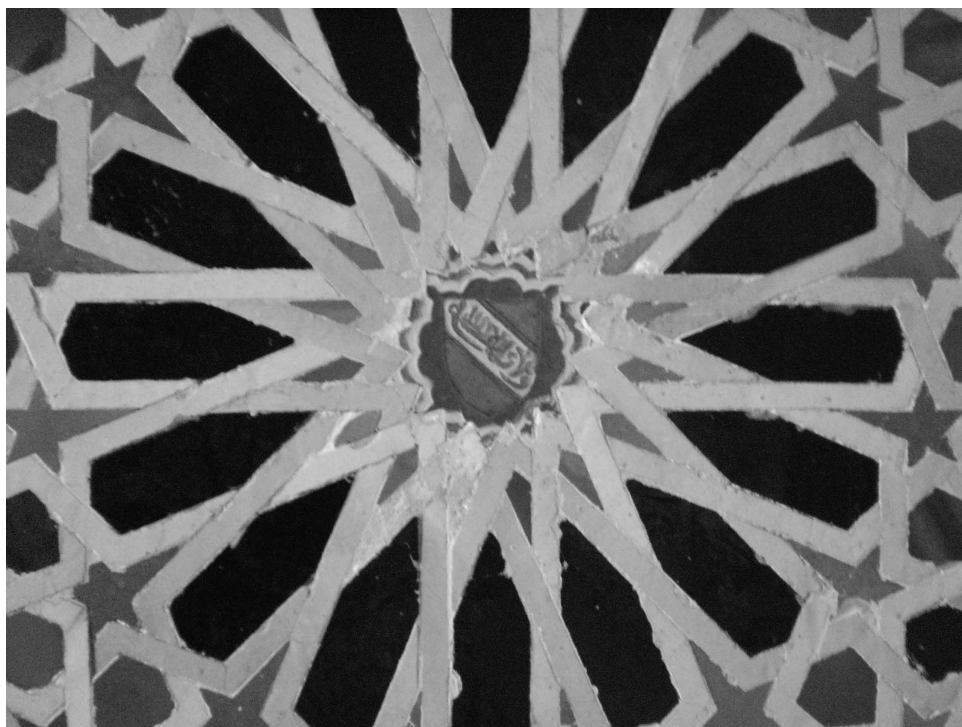


Figure 5.10 Nasrid shield lazo tile, north wall dado (photograph: Lara Eggleton).

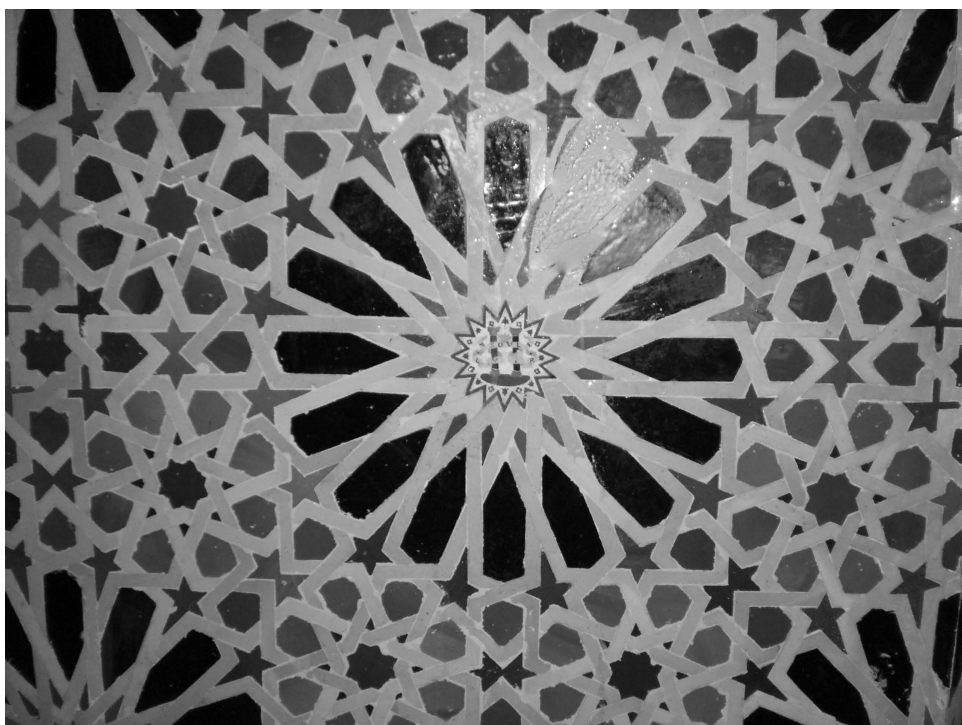


Figure 5.11 Plus Ultra lazo tile, north wall dado (photograph: Lara Eggleton).

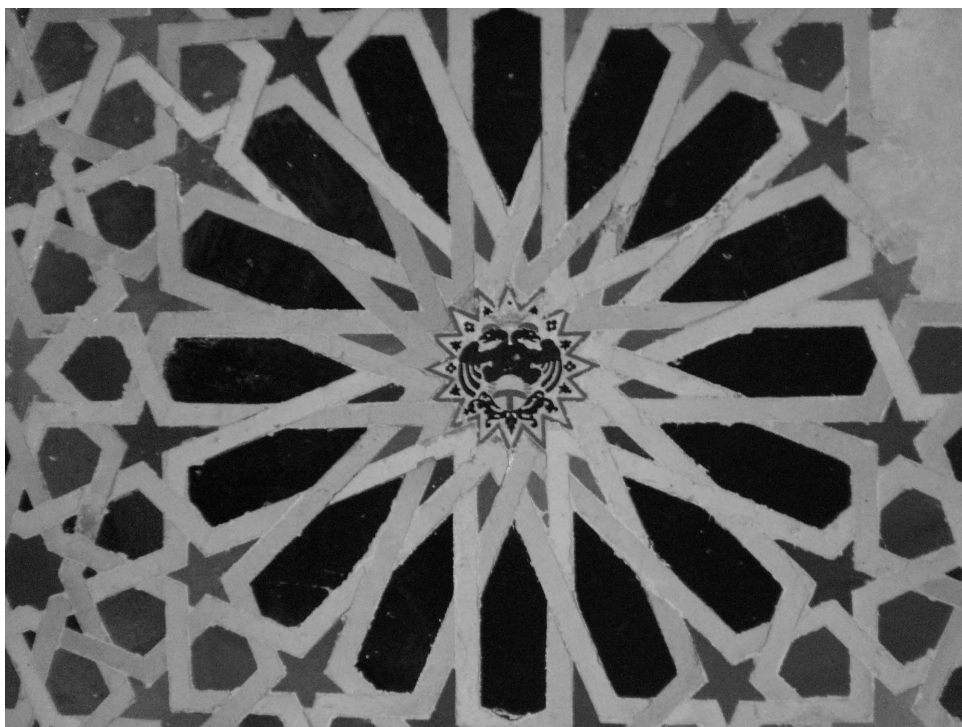


Figure 5.12 Habsburg double-headed eagle lazo tile, north wall dado (photograph: Lara Eggleton).

It is also found within the Nasrid shield found in the star-shaped dado tiles in the Mexuar, a combination which formed the heraldic device adopted by Muhammad V in the fourteenth century.⁶³ Furthermore, the four central columns provide an interesting counterpoint and foil for the Doric Pillars of Hercules depicted in the two murals. The Nasrid capitals, with their distinctive cubic organisation of acanthus leaves and volutes (a stylisation of the Composite-derived order of Umayyad Cordoba), are also strong architectural signifiers of the preceding period (Figure 5.13). Seated in the upper balcony and looking down and across the elongated space of the chapel, royal congregations would have been able to compare the two sets of columns, along with the mixture of orders, symbols and decorative elements found upon the walls of the space.

The material fabric of the Mexuar provides a vivid record of its diverse but fractured identities in the wake of conquest, which breaks apart the historicising constructs of '*convivencia*', 'post-conquest', or even 'medieval' and 'early modern' as they apply to sixteenth-century Spain. It reveals curious overlaps and points of resistance which reflect the competing interests of different groups even while they retain aspects of a shared Andalusi past. Put in context of Granada's 'frontier society' and the development of a unique Spanish Renaissance alongside wider imperial agendas, a possible rationale for its design begins to emerge. Cohen has observed that although the uneven structures of power that form when cultures meet are often followed by conquest, domination and injustice, 'innovation, hybridity and resistance are never far behind'.⁶⁴ There is little doubt that the central placement of the imperial device within the converted chapel of the Alhambra bespeaks the power of the Emperor and the dominance of the Catholic empire. However, the particular ways in which this symbolism was integrated into the ornamental programme complicates this vision, infusing it with the contradictions inherent to the demographic and artistic legacies of post-conquest Granada. One might even suggest, with Robert Young, that in the Mexuar panels 'the vernacular idiom decomposes the authority of the metropolitan form'.⁶⁵

We might conclude then, that the embedding of the 'Plus Oultre' emblem within the ornamental programme of the Mexuar functions both to integrate a new political agenda into the fabric of the space and to encapsulate the diversity of local voices that were present at this crucial turning point in Spanish history. Considered in relation to the changing historical climate, the unusual compositions of the Mexuar provide valuable insight into the nature of transcultural encounters, helping us to recover some of the unstable interim languages that mark this period of art and architectural production. During the reign of Charles V, at the same time as his new Renaissance palace rose to inscribe a new centralising and exclusionary order into the rhizome of the Alhambra, the reshaping of the Mexuar created a liminal and unstable space that made the Habsburg empire speak in an Andalusian idiom. Reading the 'Plus Oultre' murals through the prism of the 'conflictual convergence'⁶⁶ that is hybridity enables us to see the Mexuar not as marginal, forgotten space, but rather as a crucial space where the forces and counterforces at play after the conquest of Granada become symptomatic. However, to describe its post-conquest augmentation as simply 'hybrid' is to assume that its constituent styles are separate and self-contained, which is to negate the complex pluralism of Andalusi material culture in its final flowering. In this way, Flood's transculturation model allows us to attend to its extant cacophony of stylistic languages, and the ways in which its stylistic vocabularies were selectively adopted and translated



Figure 5.13 Nasrid capital integrating abstracted elements of volutes and acanthus decoration from Ionic and Corinthian orders, with Nasrid motto inscribed above and below (photograph: Lara Eggleton).

in the context of empire building. Far from being an unsuccessful ‘hodgepodge’, the conflictual convergence embodied in the Mexuar enables us to glimpse both the contradictions and the later abandoned potentials of a fleeting post-conquest dynamic that was not to last.

Notes

- 1 'Morisco' was used in Granada to describe converted Muslims living under Christian rule following the mass conversions of 1500 (prior to that they were simply called *nuevos convertidos*). 'Mudéjar' was used to describe Muslims who came under Christian vassalage but were permitted to continue practising Islam; however, it can also refer to post-conquest art and architectural style that incorporates Islamic elements. Both terms reflect the prejudices that emerged during the Spanish *Reconquista*. See Leonard P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain: 1250–1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 2–5.
- 2 For a transhistorical reading of reuse and reception in the Mexuar see Lara Eggleton, 'Reuse and reception in the life of a sixteenth-century chimneypiece', *Renaissance Studies* 30.3 (2016), 389–409. For a concise overview of its restorations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Esther Galera Mendoza, 'Espacios religiosos en la Alhambra en los Siglos XVI y XVII', in *Docta Minerva. Homenaje a la Profesora Luz de Ulierte Vázquez*, ed. Felipe Serrano Estrella (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2011), 191–215.
- 3 Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 to 1550* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979), 199.
- 4 Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 2011; orig. ed. 1995).
- 5 Young, *Colonial Desire*, 24.
- 6 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 1–5.
- 7 Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity*, 1–5.
- 8 Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity*, 2.
- 9 Young, *Colonial Desire*, 24; Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity*, 5.
- 10 Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval 'Hindu-Muslim' Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 4.
- 11 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992); Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 2009).
- 12 Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 9.
- 13 Recent archaeological discoveries have built on the substantial record of earlier transformations left by Leopoldo Torres Balbás. For an overview of his work, see Carlos Vílchez Vílchez, *La Alhambra de Leopoldo Torres Balbás (Obras de Restauración y Conservación. 1923–1936)* (Granada: Comares, 1988).
- 14 María Elena Díez Jorge, José Manuel Gómez-Moreno Calera and Pedro A. Galera Andreu, *The Alhambra and the Generalife: An Art History Guide*, 2nd edition trans. Bryan Robinson (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2008), 114.
- 15 Vílchez Vílchez, *La Alhambra de Leopoldo Torres Balbás*, 135.
- 16 Díez Jorge, et al., *The Alhambra and the Generalife*, 114.
- 17 María Cruz Ramas Torres, 'Preparativos en la Alhambra ante la venida de Felipe V (Álbum de la Alhambra)', *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 8 (1972), 91–8.
- 18 Galera Mendoza, 'Espacios religiosos en la Alhambra'.
- 19 This includes the removal of an altarpiece that had been adapted from a large black and white marble fireplace commissioned from Genoa for the royal palace in 1546, which was stripped of its sculptural ornaments (reclining nude figures, salamanders, satyrs and a relief carving of Jupiter and Leda). In 1929 Torres Balbás ordered the dismantling of the altar in the Mexuar and the reassembly of the fireplace in an upper room of the Palace of Charles V (now the Museum of Fine Arts). See Eggleton, 'Reuse and reception'.
- 20 For a full account of restorations, see Galera Mendoza, 'Espacios religiosos en la Alhambra', 193–9.
- 21 Ramón Carande Thovar, *Carlos V y sus banqueros* (Madrid: Editorial Critica, 1943), 127–8.
- 22 Earl E. Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V in Granada* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 46.
- 23 The term '*convivencia*' was originally coined by Américo Castro in *España en su Historia: Cristianos, Moros y Judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948), and was later revived by Thomas Glick in *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton

- University Press, 1979). For a recent overview of the scholarship, see Maya Soifer, 'Beyond Convivencia: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1.1 (2009), 19–35.
- 24 Maya Soifer, 'Beyond Convivencia', 22–3.
 - 25 David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492–1600* (Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 1.
 - 26 Heather Ecker, 'How to Administer a Conquered City in Al-Andalus: Mosques, Parish Churches and Parishes', *Medieval Encounters* 22 (2005), 45–65.
 - 27 Mary Elizabeth Perry, 'Memory and Mutilation: The Case of the Moriscos', in *In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, the West, and the Relevance of the Past*, ed. Simon Doubleday and David Coleman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 67–89, at 68.
 - 28 Perry, 'Memory and Mutilation', 69.
 - 29 Kate A. Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), xviii.
 - 30 Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English, *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), xiii.
 - 31 Meyerson and English, *Christians, Muslims, and Jews*, xiii.
 - 32 Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 6.
 - 33 William Maltby, *The Reign of Charles V* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 14.
 - 34 Nader, *The Mendoza Family*, 130–1.
 - 35 Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 6.
 - 36 Perry, 'Memory and Mutilation', 67–8.
 - 37 Nader, *The Mendoza Family*, 158.
 - 38 Andrew C. Hess, 'The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain', *The American Historical Review* 74.1 (1968), 1–25, at 7.
 - 39 María Rosa Menocal, 'Al-Andalus and 1492: The Ways of Remembering', in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 483–505, at 499.
 - 40 Menocal, 'Al-Andalus and 1492', 484.
 - 41 Jerrilynn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 5.
 - 42 Dodds et al., *The Arts of Intimacy*, 269.
 - 43 On intercultural translation, transculturation and translation, see Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 4.
 - 44 María Judith Feliciano, 'Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings? A Reassessment of Andalusi Textiles in Thirteenth-Century Castilian Life and Ritual', in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 101–32, at 119.
 - 45 Feliciano, 'Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings?', 119.
 - 46 Cammy Brothers, 'The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V', *Muqarnas* 11 (1994), 79–102, at 98.
 - 47 Rosenthal has questioned the extent of Machuca involvement on the basis that he was trained in Italy as a painter and showed no interest in architecture prior to 1527. The loss of ledgers pertaining to Machuca's work on the Alhambra between 1543 and 1550 make this impossible to clarify. Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V*, 3–22, 78.
 - 48 Consultants include architect Juan de Maeda, Castilian mason Luis de Vega and his patron and secretary to the emperor, Francisco de los Cobos. Tafuri has suggested that Luis Hurtado may also have worked with Baldassare Castiglione (*Papal Nuncio* at the court of Charles V), who in turn may have asked the Italian architect Giulio Romano for ideas regarding the planning of the building. Manfredo Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 208–15.
 - 49 Nader, *The Mendoza Family*, 190.
 - 50 Nader, *The Mendoza Family*, 77.
 - 51 Nader, *The Mendoza Family*, 10.
 - 52 John H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (London: Penguin, 2002), 150–1.
 - 53 José Tito Rojo and Manuel Casares Porcel, 'From the Andalusi Garden to the Andalusian Garden: Remnants and Re-Creation', in *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and*

- Diversity, Questions, Methods and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007), 287–305, at 289.
- 54 Tafuri's main criticism of Rosenthal's study is its uncritical dependence on earlier conclusions reached by Manuel Gómez-Moreño's *Las águilas del Renacimiento español*. Ordoñez, *Siloe, Machuca, Berruguete* (Madrid: Instituto Diego Valázquez, 1941), and his interpretation of primary documents based on this historicising view of Machuca as an *águila*, or Spanish master.
- 55 Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance*, 203.
- 56 Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance*, 206.
- 57 Brothers, 'The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra', 98.
- 58 Earl E. Rosenthal, 'The Invention of the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), 198–230, at 199. Rosenthal argues that the Non Plus Ultra calque was not of Latin origin, but a negative inversion of the commonplace derived from Charles V's motto which only gained currency in Spain during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
- 59 Maltby, *The Reign of Charles V*, 29.
- 60 Earl E. Rosenthal, 'Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra, and the Columnar device of Emperor Charles V', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971), 204–28, at 222.
- 61 Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, xiv.
- 62 For the use of private chapels on the Alhambra grounds following the conquest, see Galera Mendoza, 'Espacios religiosos en la Alhambra'.
- 63 See B. Pavón Maldonado, 'Escudos y reyes en el Cuarto de los Leones de la Alhambra', *Al-Andalus* 35 (1970), 179–97; and Ana Echevarria, 'Painting Politics in the Alhambra', *Medieval Encounters* 14.2, 3 (2008), 207–8.
- 64 Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity*, 5.
- 65 Young, *Colonial Desire*, 5.
- 66 Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity*, 1.

6 Beyond Foucault's laugh

On the ethical practice of medieval art history¹

Roland Betancourt

This book first arose out of a passage in Borges, out of the laughter that shattered, as I read the passage, all the familiar landmarks of my thought – *our* thought, the thought that bears the stamp of our age and our geography – breaking up all the ordered surfaces and all the planes with which we are accustomed to tame the wild profusion of existing things, and continuing long afterwards to disturb and threaten with collapse our age-old distinction between the Same and the Other.

– Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*²

In the fall of 2009, at a lecture on the bodily effects of religious visions in the Middle Ages, an audience member asked the speaker whether he was addressing the subject as a 'reporter' or as a person of faith: whether he believed that these 'things', stigmata and the like, *actually* happened. Before the question was even finished, the audience, composed mainly of professors and graduate students, jumped, turning back in disgust and outrage at the intruder. It was as if the utterance had somehow not posed a question, but rather made a gratuitous, vulgar, and offensive remark. The question concerning the speaker's religion seemed invasive and out of place in a scholarly context. This was the speaker's logic, who rebutted by dismissing the entire question as being of a deeply personal nature.

At the audience's reaction, I am reminded of Foucault's laugh at the beginning of *The Order of Things*, as if at the instant of that threatening prod the audience's epistemic charter had been split open – like Borges' Chinese encyclopaedia whose taxonomies revealed to Foucault the very arbitrariness of such categories of thought. Beyond the taxonomic tabula of our thought, the question reveals the motives and functions of the encyclopaedia, not what it textually contains, but rather its place in our world, its intentions and use: the binding, paper, ink, location on the shelf, and performance in the hands of its readers and their communities. Similar 'invasive' questions and their answers are not uncommon in academia. In fact, they have come to be expected in certain fields. The full-disclosure attempted by ethnographers and social archaeologists is a prominent example of this trend, as in the classic example of Renato Rosaldo's *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*, which brings to the forefront the ethnographer's own experiences and beliefs in order to not merely contextualise his work and biases in the field, but make these biases the generating force of the work's investigations and conclusions.³ Such admissions – seen not only as a disclosure, but a methodology – have figured prominently in the development of the humanities and social sciences in postmodernism where the scholar as an active, subjective participant

in the world has come to the forefront and where the intentions and goals of 'objective scholarship' have been greatly revised, if not wholly abandoned.

Is *ethics*, then, a new critical term for art history? Recent publications such as Harris and Overbey's 'Field Change/Discipline Change' on 'lush ethics' suggest that it is, but this is not a view that has been embraced by the discipline at large.⁴ The audience member's question, which I have framed as somehow episteme-shattering, *should* cause the art historian to consider their research's functions in the world and its ethical implications. This problem is far more subtle than the flagrant (ab)uses of scholarship to serve a particular group's goals – it is not merely a call for an exposé on a specific instance of the misuse of history to advocate for a social, religious, or political group's agenda. If art historians believe that their work has any meaning or function outside of the academy, then they are implicitly acknowledging that their work has *ethical consequences*, be it as simple as constructing interpretations of pasts and presents for communities, which set the foundations for their presents and potential futures. If the discipline is to acknowledge and engage this aspect of its work, ethics suggests the path towards 'new spaces' in art history, an issue set forth in the questions discussed at the 2009 Clark Institute of Art colloquium 'Who are we? Where have we come from? Where are we going?'⁵ At the core of any postcolonial project lies the investigation of the 'now', for it is in the now that the colonial may enact its postcolonial future in the present. As such, this chapter attempts to weave together a representative sample of these discussions to propose potential paths of inquiry and para-academic research that seeks to project new futures through our writing of the past. The historian cannot emancipate the colonised medieval subject, but they can use a proleptic historical discourse as a tactic for change and as a discursive medium by virtue of the ever-expanding, global museum and university. This chapter explores recent interventions in museum display and scholarly curation that speak to a shift towards acknowledging the active role of curator, scholar and viewer in art historical enquiry. It is centred dually on two recent exhibitions of Byzantine Art and a historiographic analysis of the recent past.

The ever-expanding purview and reach of art historical scholarship in a globalised world, I argue, makes the problem of ethics an imperative 'new space' for art historical scholarship because without considering the effects of its work and methods the field undoubtedly is doomed to commit severe intellectual crimes. The question here has been one of *methodology*. How does one practise art history in a globalised world, when both 'art' and 'history' become incompetent terms and uncommon foundations? The model of multi-vocal pluralism advocated by archaeologists requires that the scholar allow their subjects to 'return the gaze', as Dipesh Chakrabarty has stated.⁶ The expansion of museums cannot be a centrifugal imposition of a universal cult of art, rooted in the excuse of cosmopolitanism, but rather a discourse around objects and epistemologies. The gaze of the local must be encouraged, but on the terms of its own *visuality*, using its own methods and sources.

In the past five years, a debate on ethical practice has found its way into art history via the museum community – albeit somewhat unwelcome – in response to the cultural heritage repatriation battles, most notably between Italy and the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the J. Paul Getty Museum.⁷ The divide between museum communities and the academy is arguably less pronounced for Byzantine art than it is for other subfields of medieval art history,⁸ nevertheless the ethics discourse has been engaged with far more publicly within museums than it has amongst art historians. As *museum globalisation* – meant to encompass the expansion of major museums to

other parts of the world, as well as globalisation through the open-access digitisation of their collections and the creation of parallel virtual museums – moves from theory into practice in places such as Dubai, Qatar, Abu Dhabi, and even Las Vegas, the problem of ethics goes well beyond debates of ownership, staging the discussion in terms of the interrelation between power and knowledge. The debate is no longer about ‘*Who Owns Antiquity?*’ as James Cuno, President of the J. Paul Getty Trust, suggests in the title of his book, but rather ‘who *controls* antiquity?’ This is the domain of the art historian, not the museum’s legal department. It forces the scholar to abandon any vestigial notions of detached objectivity and acknowledge that research is always socially and politically engaged, whether one is dealing with a Byzantine icon or a YouTube video. This social and political activism has been a burgeoning power in academic and para-academic circles for at least the past three decades, but has recently begun to exist as a generative field of active research in the past five to ten years, championed by players such as the BABEL Working Group and the Material Collective.⁹ As a methodological imperative, the ethical enacts the project of a postcolonial ethos in its incessant demands for justice in a global system in which boundaries and borders of cultural exchange have become more permeable, while the hegemonic powers and structures of transaction and exchange are still greatly centralised and dominated by traditional imperial authorities.

In art history’s sister field, archaeology, this discourse was first opened in 1989 by British social archaeologist Christopher Tilley who convincingly demonstrated that the production of archaeological scholarship is ‘a form of social and political action in the present with emancipatory potential’.¹⁰ Now, I would go as far as to suggest that to act under the aegis of a universalising reason or historical project, which negates and/or simply circumvents stakeholder interests, is no longer a feasible course of action given that the ground has already been laid for an academic project that responds to forms and strategies of inquiry outside of the stakeholders that populate the academy. This is not a question of innovation, but rather of enacting a project whose manifesto has already been laid out by generations of scholars before us. What we now come to define as stakeholders, however, need not exclusively be delineated as native peoples, local religious communities, etc. Instead, it is possible now to imagine what an art history made for newfound virtual communities (i.e. such as those found on Tumblr, Instagram, Twitter, Pinterest, YouTube, and so on) would look like, given their unique methodological forms of inquiry, analysis, and response.¹¹

With the rise of a global art history and museum, it is useful to revise the question set forth by James Elkins in a volume of his Art Seminar series, ‘*Is Art History Global?*’ Instead, one must ask: Can art history be global *and* ethical? Can art history as a global discipline liberate itself from the intellectual crimes of neoliberal and neocolonial ideologies that have plagued globalism’s strategies in recent memory? As regarded by UNESCO, ‘cultural heritage’ is any monument that is ‘of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science’.¹² This notion of universality and the associated concept of *cosmopolitanism*¹³ have been used by James Cuno to attack repatriation efforts as drawing from a ‘nationalist retentionist’ conception of heritage.¹⁴ Cuno sees these nationalistic politics as impeding in cultural heritage’s belonging to all of humankind – ‘art’ is un-reflexively considered a shared universal.¹⁵ It seems this claim to universality is a totemic given that cannot be released without destroying the entire tabula of our thought, without it the universal museum is a mere *Wunderkammer*, without a unifying narrative. The universalistic reasoning

that *certain* artefacts and architecture have a transcendental value echoes, however, as Alfredo González-Ruibal has observed, 'the crude modernist vision of many development agencies',¹⁶ which have structured a teleological paradigm for cultural and artistic creation constructed on the West's universal standards – created by Euro-American scholarship.¹⁷

Returning to the opening anecdote, one is inexorably led to reconsider the role of religion in scholarship. Yet, one should consider religion here as merely a cipher, allowing it to stand in for a variety of worldviews and life-worlds that communities may inhabit and project onto their visual world. In such terms, the episteme-shattering question with which I began was not an insensitive prying into the private life of the academic, but the enactment of a power struggle between the secular and the sacred, two epistemologies that have been polarised since the Enlightenment and thus (allegedly) purged from one another. The development of the notion of art itself, as well as the crucial divisions between popular and elite culture that fuel it, were theorised by Michael Camille as being precisely rooted in the Renaissance's 'desacralisation' of the image. The idol, purged from its status as religious mediator between man and God, is reified into a secularised cult of art through contemplation and study – art 'for art's sake'.¹⁸

Fabio Rambelli and Eric Reinders, working in cultural and religious studies respectively, have discussed the concept of 'semioclastism', the non-physical destruction of objects' meanings through their contextual settings in relation to the museum and the discipline of art history, writing:

[O]ne can say that museums, and the discipline of art history, are "iconoclastic", not through a failure to achieve their goals but precisely by succeeding, not as a matter of intentional disrespect but on the contrary in the very mechanisms of respect.¹⁹

Their argument draws light onto the critical act by which the artefact is transformed by display and scholarship into a purely aesthetic object, a work of 'art'. Thus, for the faithful, the presentation of a scholarly argument rooted in academic scepticism on the efficacy of miraculous visions and their bodily effects – which reduce these accounts to a discussion on self-inflicted wounds and forgeries – presented a potent *semioclastic* act. It is sometimes easy to forget that a Byzantine icon installed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is not only an aesthetic or historical object for visual contemplation and intellectual discourse, but also a religious object whose 'respect' in the museum may not always be the appropriate form of respect. On the contrary, it can be understood as a gross misuse, a vulgar display of a broken 'idol' – subjected to a profane episteme. The museum display case and lighting seem to be saying, to quote the Reformation iconoclasts' adage, 'Look, can't you see? It's nothing but wood!' despite what paradoxical enchantment this mere wood's technology may have on the museumgoer.²⁰ From within the field of Byzantine art, Robert S. Nelson first brought the museum's effects on the work of art to the forefront in his important 1989 article discussing the manner in which the display of objects in museums limits their use, denies their tactility, and changes the overall appearance of the images.²¹

In 2004, the Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibition *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* marked the final instalment of a series of exhibitions on the history of Byzantine art. The series began in 1977 with Kurt Weitzmann's *The Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* and continued twenty years later in 1997 with Helen Evans's *The Glory of Byzantium: Arts and Culture of*

the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261. These major shows of Byzantine art were paralleled on the west coast by the J. Paul Getty Museum's 2006–07 exhibition, *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*, curated by Robert S. Nelson and Kristen Collins.²² While the two most recent of these shows at the Metropolitan Museum of Art featured objects from Sinai in their surveys of Byzantine art, the Getty show brought 53 items from Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai as a way of focusing attention not just on comprehensiveness, but rather on Mount Sinai as a particular site with a unique spiritual topography. This great feat required a close collaboration between the monastery and the museum – documented on the show's website²³ and often commented upon by organisers, participants, and in-the-know Byzantinists who marvel at the immense time and care needed to foster such relationships of trust and respect. These exhibitions have displayed icons in the museum setting as aesthetic and formal art objects. They have been lit for optimal *museum* viewing, installed on walls, in cases, and on pedestals to ensure their preservation and provide a specific frame of experience. Contextually, they are explained within the narratives of the twenty-first century art museum. While their physical fabric may remain intact, their experiential meaning is radically changed from their original context and, most importantly, their contemporary context in the Greek Orthodox world – and even a wider Christian audience – while also circumventing other potential stakeholders who could see in the icon the foundations of or parallels with modern image circulation and use.

Efforts have been made by the curators of these exhibitions to underscore the historical and present-day religious dimension of these objects, stressing that they are only temporarily on loan, not only to another space, but also to another episteme: visitors have often been witnessed praying before the icons at these shows, efforts have been made to include architectural settings within the galleries that resonate with the objects' liturgical settings, and collaborations with monasteries have led to assistance not only with the conservation and preservation of icons but also with the construction of an exhibition space at Mount Sinai for the display of these objects. The catalogue and website that accompanied the Getty exhibition, for example, did go some way towards challenging the decontextualisation of the icons by grounding their narrative in the historical and contemporary location of Mount Sinai.²⁴

In this line of consideration, it should be noted that the most recent show at the Metropolitan Museum of Art focused on Byzantine art was Helen Evans's *Byzantium and Islam* show (14 March–8 July 2012), which centred precisely on the interconnections between faiths in the medieval world, and that the Getty's own recent show on Byzantium was a wide survey of Byzantine art from Greek collections tellingly entitled *Heaven and Earth* (9 April–25 August 2014), and done in collaboration with various institutions, including the Greek Ministry of Culture and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC. These shows have attempted to bring faith to the foreground, while covering an expansive body of material that presents a coherent image of Byzantine art in various expanded fields. Of particular note, the Getty's scholars' symposium was co-hosted by the Getty Villa, the University of California, Los Angeles, and the Huffington Center at Saint Sophia Greek Orthodox Cathedral in Los Angeles. Participants at these events were an active combination of scholars, congregation members, and museumgoers, which led to lively conversations manifesting the wide variety of stakeholders and knowledge producers in Byzantine art and theology. The symposium even concluded with a film, entitled *Intersecting Worlds: The Byzantine/Traditional Village*, which was produced in collaboration between Barbara Drucker and Sharon

Gerstel, the symposium co-organisers, that addressed the intersections between Byzantine pasts and presents in Greece. Similar work has been undertaken by the architectural historian Kostis Kourelis.²⁵

These advances in museum display and scholarly curation speak to the radically changing topography of scholarship and the academic as an active participant in their worlds of inquiry, past and present. Methodologically, as well, the prominence of anthropological, phenomenological, and performance theory in the field of Byzantine art in the past five years should be considered an attempt to mediate this disjuncture between the post-Renaissance understanding of objects and their own pasts.²⁶ For example, Bissera Pentcheva's reconstructions of sonic experience in Hagia Sophia and the sensual effects of light on Byzantine aesthetics – positioned against a methodology rooted in textual sources – speaks to a form of approach towards Byzantine art that places the viewer – past or present (without much differentiation) – at the centre of art historical writing, rather than as an immovably positioned viewer constructed exclusively from textual evidence.²⁷ Such methods stress the enlightening alterity of both a distant past and a foreign, albeit contemporary *sacred gaze*, a way of seeing and conceiving the religious world beyond the presented matter and form that has been championed by studies on the materiality of Byzantine and medieval art at large.²⁸

If one considers the methods of formalism and connoisseurship, which grounded the foundations of European and American art history, their concern for the visual object itself and their glorification of the artist's hand figure as part of the very elements Camille emphasised as functioning to move artefacts from the sacred to the secular. To attribute an *acheiropoietic* Byzantine icon (one, literally, 'not made by human hands'), to a specific workshop or author is to destroy the entire significance of the object within a religious episteme. An extended discourse on the physicality of the icon may border on idolatry, whereas a Panofskian iconological approach can heighten the function of the icon by elucidating constructs of a visual language.²⁹ Such an approach would stress the semiotics of the sacred image as an iconic sign-vehicle, as a conductive 'present absence', which agrees with the Byzantine conceptualisation of images as typological forms incarnated in different matters.³⁰ This has been in large part what pushes towards materiality, led by the Material Collective, have enabled in the study of medieval art, and its success has been in large part due to the group's dedication to championing not only the devoted gaze of past subjects, but also – and primarily – the devoted gazes of those scholars who regard those objects and the para-academic realities and forces that such objects have in the world of those who devote so much of their time to them.³¹ One might even see the strength of the Menil Collection's display of the Byzantine Chapel in Houston as coming from the minimalist design of the space, which echoed the form of a Byzantine church but also made palpably present its ghostly apparition in the museological space – and it should not be overlooked that the Chapel's recent return to Cyprus is in keeping with the ethical commitment of museums to their objects' stakeholders and communities.

In 1978, the historian, Patrick Geary, insightfully began his book on the medieval theft of relics by stating that the historian must accept his subject's system of viewing reality or else the entire endeavour of *history* becomes impossible. Geary writes:

Historians, like anthropologists, must accept their subjects' system of viewing reality. Thus, for the purpose of this study, certain phenomena will be accepted without question: the relics discussed herein are all genuine until proven otherwise

by contemporaries; these relics are miraculous... Without the acceptance of these postulates, the entire phenomenon becomes incomprehensible and scholarly investigation remains at the level of antiquarian triviality or anachronistic skepticism.³²

In his statement, Geary was addressing the issue of scholarly ethics within the framework of history's goal of recreating an 'original' moment of reception and creation. The question at the centre of this paper follows in line with Geary's perspective by a useful coincidence – an analogous religious epistemology then and now – but this is *not* what I am arguing. Avoiding 'anachronistic skepticism', as Geary called it, is not the tenet at the core of ethical practice – ironically, it is quite the contrary. Who are the 'stakeholders' of art historical research? To answer this question, one should consider the archaeologist, Richard Leventhal's statement that cultural heritage, 'is not a statement of truth nor in any sense of reality. Rather, it is a relationship built upon the constructs of identity in the present and future, from the past'.³³ As such, the primary stakeholders of art historical and archaeological knowledge are the *present* communities that construct their identities by and from these objects.

The founder of post-processual archaeology, Ian Hodder, has suggested that archaeologists – and I would add by extension art historians – have an ethical responsibility to ask questions that resonate with their stakeholders, which are both the local and global communities in addition to the academy. His fieldwork at the site of Çatalhöyük in Turkey de-centres the archaeologist as primary interpreter and places him as mediator between different stakeholders, be it politicians, local peoples, New Age Goddess groups, credit card companies, or fellow academics. In addition to archaeologists, the project keeps ethnographers on site in order to mediate the discourse between the various groups and learn what issues resonate with local stakeholders.³⁴ While such archaeological, on-site models are not easily translatable to art historical research, given their different conditions of operation, I propose Hodder's work as an exemplar of what can be done if one actively involves other forms of knowledge and research into the production of work. For Byzantinists, in particular, the recent push by Turkish politicians for the rehabilitation of Hagia Sophia into a functional mosque serves as a potent reminder of our own enmeshment into these ethical debates. The arguments on the part of academics have also not differed much from advocacy against the expansion of American and European museums into the Middle East and thus have continued to create an apparent divide between history and heritage – with the latter coming in as a lower priority – which reiterates the arguments once made against the international repatriation of museum objects.³⁵ While 'heritage' has often been attacked as being a corruption of history *proper*, David Lowenthal has convincingly demonstrated that this divide is primarily an intellectual illusion, which has allowed history to preserve precisely its privileged place and centre the historian as arbiter in a universalistic discourse of reason – it structurally postulates the category of otherness against which it may define itself.³⁶ These are essentially the foundations of colonialism and empire. History, however, is always a *part* of heritage – a form of social and political action, whether intended as such or not.

Susan Buck-Morss, whose work on critical theory and art has always been socially engaged,³⁷ has viewed September 11 and its fallout as an imperative to investigate the manner in which the artistic avant-gardes may function as a global underground to help civilians caught in the crossfire of terror. Utilising her role as an academic, Buck-Morss seized her authorial voice as performative speech to discuss the burgeoning and

necessary emergence of an activist Left in the newfound global public sphere.³⁸ Her 2003 book *Thinking Past Terror* is written as a manifesto, yet today – after the Twitter Revolutions of the Arab Spring in 2011 and their parallel movements – her work from 2003 also reads as an oracular pronouncement. Buck-Morss provides a methodological foundation for inhabiting our shared epistemic ruins: the creation of a discursive space grounded on a multi-lateral, ethical conversation regarding the united deployment of artistic avant-gardes, scholarship, and museums.

Attempts at the question of ethics in art history have traditionally been paired with a philosophically-rooted discussion on aesthetics.³⁹ However, post-9/11 scholarship has begun to address the ethical element of images and scholarship *in the world*.⁴⁰ Recent publications, such as *The Life and Death of Images: Ethics and Aesthetics*, have moved somewhat beyond musings on the ontology of the image and its ethical aesthetics. Instead, these have looked further into the more complex and, in the end, more fruitful process of the *lives* of images as they circulate in the world. W.J.T. Mitchell's *Cloning Terror: The War of Images, 9/11 to the Present*, presents a model for such research, which pushes its relevance and engagement up to a perpetual 'present' as indicated by the title. His text is a close analysis of socio-political images and their surrounding rhetoric in connection to image virality and terrorism. The book functions as a critical primer for the media-saturated ecology of American everyday life and thus pushes the limits of art historical scholarship and academic insularity.

Such methodological positions have a clear 'emancipator potential' coming at a time of a 'War on Terror' that has been staged as a 'War of/on Images' – as Mitchell's book makes clear. It becomes impossible to ignore the socially and politically oriented practice of such scholarship, which has been quite sincere in its intentions to actively promote change. These works demonstrate the immense power of images in society and deconstruct the way that these images have shaped our world and our actions by contributing to the scholarly and, more importantly, popular discourse. Sociologist Jeffrey Alexander, analysing September 11 as a *social performance*,⁴¹ considers terrorism as 'post-political', that is, as an action that emerges from a state of despair where a people see their free-play and political agency as limited. Thus, terrorists stage 'real' social performances that can be distributed by mass media with the hopes that they will lead to socio-political change, circumventing the inefficient state's power structure. Recent scholarship on images can be considered as a peaceful form of post-political action in America given the political and economic climate of the post-9/11 world.⁴² The burgeoning proliferation of methodologies rooted in actor-network theory,⁴³ the social life of things,⁴⁴ and materiality⁴⁵ in art history directly assert the discursive nature of visual culture as a non-static entity, where objects are neither the beginning of inquiry nor the end, but rather enmeshed in the experience and performance of everyday life.

In such a globalised world, ethics is an imperative new space for art historical scholarship. I do not wish to suggest that the 'new space' of art history is a lengthy concern with the concept of ethics. As Aristotle warned regarding the investigation of ethics, 'the end is not knowledge but action (*praxis*)'.⁴⁶ Likewise, the goal of an ethically motivated history of art regards the articulation and execution of an ethical *praxis*. Archaeologist Randall McGuire, whose work has focused on the development of socio-activist scholarship, has defined such praxis, writing:

Archaeologists have come to realize that people act as agents in social contexts only partly of their own making, in dialectic between structure and agency. Agency

becomes praxis only when people strive to alter that structure. Praxis refers to the distinctively human capacity to consciously and creatively construct and change both the world and ourselves.⁴⁷

Thus, praxis is a structural articulation of the goals of Frankfurt School critical theory in its fundamental definition, whereby academic work serves as a tool for cultural intervention and change.⁴⁸ This praxis is the path towards this '*novus locus*', a new discursive site that necessitates a redrawn tabula. I wish to stress the connection to Foucault's *common locus*, in the Preface to *The Order of Things*, the text with which I began this essay. The encyclopaedia, the Western (scholarly) episteme is the 'common place' of knowledge and classification. Foucault's laugh emerged as a part and parcel of this space, upon the realisation of the arbitrariness of the sign. Foucault offers the surrealist dream of encountering the umbrella and the sewing machine on an operating table as an example of the *proplastic space* of the tabula, which serves as the locus in which encounter and juxtaposition may occur. This space exists, as I have continually said, in the 'beyond' of contemporary scholarship, in its *becoming* rather than *being* in the world. It is a discursive space construed on the projective and proleptic powers of historical discourse. This dialogue will at times require a release of some of our own taxonomies, perhaps, such as the reintroduction of religion into certain fields of study or an allowance for 'popular' heritage to be considered alongside history and not as a corruption.⁴⁹ Only this can culminate in a globalisation of the field that does not present itself as a missionary endeavour. As Foucault reflected, 'the exotic charm of another system of thought, is the limitation of our own, the stark impossibility of thinking *that*'.⁵⁰ Knowing and practising this '*that*' should be the goal of an art history that challenges our given structures through action (praxis). Nevertheless, this must be an endeavour in which we mutually provincialise ourselves as compatriots in a shared global public sphere and its predicaments.

In a world fraught with violence and injustice, it is *necessary* to ask, as Tilley did in 1989: 'Is doing [art history] like playing the fiddle while Rome burns?'⁵¹ This question reminds me of David Freedberg's opening to *The Power of Images* published that same year. Certainly, we have moved well beyond the need to disclaim, as he did then: 'This book is not about the history of art. It is about the relations between images and people...'.⁵² If art history is to be relevant and demanded by society, it must engage with the problems of people; that is, it can be nothing *but* 'the relations between images and people'.⁵³ Art history's canon has always aspired to be global, but always has managed to be nothing more than local.⁵⁴ Now it *must* be global, because its *institutions* have become global – both the museum, which began as a colonial institution,⁵⁵ and the university; and thus art history must put itself into dialogue with its stakeholders – in terms of their own cognitive maps, methods, sources, concerns, languages, and so on.

* * *

In 2007, art historian David Joselit argued in his book *Feedback* that in our televisual world art history has the 'capacity to become a political science'.⁵⁶ It is necessary to note that in this statement Joselit does not say that art history has the *potential* to become a political science, but rather the *capacity*. As such, Joselit stresses that the field does not need adjustment or alteration since it already has the capabilities for political action. What needs to be undertaken is (merely) a process of performative

enactment. Susan Buck-Morss has likened the construction of the global public sphere to the process of translation. Scholarship must enact this shared discursive space as a continuation of and through a process of translation, a translation in which neither language is left unchanged – a postcolonial translation. All players on the global stage must be provincialised, constructing a common locus through a process of what may be called epistemological translation.

This translation cannot be undertaken without first constructing the space for such a projective project within our shared modernity. Therefore, this staging entails an archaeology that exists geared towards the discursive present and an ethical, postcolonial future – a drive which, as I have shown, has foregrounded scholarship in archaeology the past twenty years. Buck-Morss makes it clear that the provincialisation of constituents in the global public sphere is dependent not only on an acknowledgement of present conditions, but rather on an articulation of a modernity freed from the strictures of the established Eurocentric narrative.

[I]f the Western model does not have a monopoly on the future's meaning, then we are obliged to look to the discarded cultural pasts in imagining a future that is 'not-yet.' But – this is crucial – it is to the cultural imaginaries of past civilizations that we must look for inspiration, not the power realities. In other words, cultures must be understood as always radical, in the sense that they are always negotiations between the real and the ideal, hence at least potentially in protest against the societies and power structures in which they emerge.⁵⁷

Thus in order for a historical project to be projective, driven towards a propositional future, it must engender within its logic a proleptic historical project that undertakes an archaeology of the discarded or repressed *unconscious* and *imaginary* of past cultures. What would be the shape of such a project and what conceptual methods would be needed to perform such a task?

David Joselit's book goes on precisely to read television against the grain, as a project to visualise television's *unconscious*, a tactic that has served as a profitable model of investigation in modern art history.⁵⁸ Through the trope of the unconscious, a latent logic in the established developmental narratives, art historians have cut across given logics to demonstrate the manner in which art, history, historiography, and theory, have worked against an axiomatic modernity. Buck-Morss's deployment of 'imaginaries' suggests a psychoanalytic usage. As developed in the work of Lacan, for example, the imaginary is not in opposition to the real, but rather refers to the faculties of the mind to think through images.⁵⁹ Unlocking this use of the term serves as a particular call to action for art historians of 'past civilisations'. Even divorced from all psychoanalytic methodologies, the trope of the unconscious imaginary serves as a potent tool through which to incise historical spaces for resistance and dissent, despite the placid or coherent narratives into which we have been thrown.

Unlike a project that projects or aspires to a future, the proleptic inscribes within a present that future. The proleptic is not simply a preconception or a foreshadowing, but rather a retrieval of the future into the/a present. Homi Bhabha, reflecting on Amartya Sen's *The Idea of Justice*, observes prolepsis to be a defining quality of human rights since they function as an emancipation of time and peoples in the present through their futurity. Human rights function not in their propositionality as assertions of what is already legislatively given, but rather in their 'rhetoricity' – in their

ability to guarantee an ethical future as rhetorical assertions of what is just.⁶⁰ In this aspect, rights are relentless – constantly demanding a re-evaluation of what constitutes just behaviour. This observation demonstrates the point that ethical practice cannot be reduced to guidelines or universal declarations of what must be done. Instead, ethical practice must be a fluid and dynamic methodology of approach that constantly is in the process of re-evaluating itself and of seeking various tools to achieve its goals – it is a state of suspended, incessant desire.

As Buck-Morss makes explicit, the goal in a project such as this is to find a way forward from the excised pasts and their sites of resistance, rather than merely articulate their ‘power realities’. Moving beyond Buck-Morss’s argument, however, her statement reveals an important, albeit unaddressed problem with such approaches: an ethical project, concerned as it might be with post-/colonial tensions, gender and sexuality struggles, religious conflict, etc. cannot fashion itself as an emancipatory or proleptic project simply by virtue of an alleged trans-historical relevance. Instead, such a project must strive for action and methods that despite their relevance engage in opening spaces of contemporary discourse through the shared language of modernity. These projects need not address the relevant issues directly, such as definitions of marriage in Medieval Europe or articulations of gender in Byzantium to contribute to a dialogue on marriage equality and LGBTQ+ rights, for example. In fact, they can be thematically quite disjointed with present-day concerns, as long as they forge a discursive field that engages a coeval⁶¹ construction of their articulation – a discussion on the past that occurs in the present and seizes that present as its ultimate medium.

In part, this methodological proposal demands tactics for a perpetual bridging of the past and the present. Michael Baxandall once proposed the ‘Bouguer Principle’ as a method for relating two separate concepts. Baxandall suggests that one, ‘modify one of the terms till it matches the other, but keeping note of what modification has been necessary...’.⁶² Through a structuralist production of an interval of difference the art historian could perhaps communicate the precise structure of a cross-temporal comparison, while preserving the value and alterity of both the past and present. Scholarship that has attempted to discuss present-day relevancies of medieval art, for example, has often resorted to such strategies – sometimes by way of introductions and conclusions, or most often by forewords and epilogues. This approach suggests that by revealing the changes that are necessary for our own concepts to approach those of others, it is possible to produce a dialogue that crosses boundaries of time and space while respecting both past and present, us and them, dialectically – not in terms of opposed positivistic categories, but rather as that liminal, intellectual break that unifies them and in which and by which historical discourse is performed. How then does one construct a rhetorical structure for the production of a proleptic historical project? One that engages the present, not as bookend concerns, but rather as the discursive space itself.

Although rarely harnessed, at least effectively, museums have often served as natural laboratories for such projects. To return to the exhibition of Byzantine art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s 2004 exhibition, *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, was heralded by *Artforum* as a timely, avant-garde show. In her ‘Top Ten’ list of experiences for 2011, practising-artist Ashley Bickerton listed the show as top six, writing:

This show taught me more about modern art, and particularly Conceptualism, than pretty much any modern or conceptual show I have ever seen. Perhaps it was

because here, modernity was placed in much more general human terms. Suddenly, I was able to see clearly our natural instinct to make things and how our native bioprograms dictate that we do so. I visited 'Byzantium' with an artist friend, and together we were like ecstatic children, jabbering wildly in front of one piece and then rushing off to look at whatever struck our fancy next. Order is for historians.⁶³

This response deserves a careful analysis. At first glance, the viewer's experience follows the traditional notion utilised by museum directors, such as Philippe de Montebello and James Cuno, for the role of the universal museum as discussed here previously – that the experience of the universal museum allows for the cross-cultural, cross-temporal reception of artworks and elaborates notions about global human parallels and divergences. This, however, was explicated in terms of the need to produce by this reviewer, who perceives production as a biological need. Yet these 'native bioprograms' do not explicate the history of art, but rather are tied to the experience of modernity and Conceptual art. The laconic review leaves the reader to wonder whether connections between Byzantine iconography (literally, *icon-writing*) resonated with the semiological project of Synthetic Cubism, with the Constructivist notions of the object-as-co-worker, or with the complex interactions between space and viewers in installation and site-specific art. It is uncertain whether these revelations were of an ontological or phenomenological nature, nevertheless the reviewer demonstrates a fundamental epistemic positioning: 'Order is for historians'.

The reviewer's visit is not unique in terms of the experience of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and its diverse collections, but rather in the experience of 'Byzantium', of the art within the exhibition. Within this space, the viewer stages a space of liberated, anachronic viewing. While the reviewer is explicitly aware of the historian's desire for order, her experience of the exhibition as a spatial entity is what constructs the viewer's comprehension of the works of art. If order is for historians, it is implicitly not for her. It is precisely upon this ambulatory freedom, this liberation from the taxonomic grid of time, that the reviewer constructs her museumgoer-epistemology. For anyone familiar with this exhibition – or most museum exhibitions – there is a tension between the strategic deployment of chronological history through the exhibition's design, labels, and supporting materials and the personal tactics of the museumgoer – capable of resisting such structures through their own progression through the exhibit's spatial text. This phenomenological hermeneutics is precisely constructed around what Hans-Georg Gadamer referred to as the *perceptual horizon*.⁶⁴

By contrast to the Metropolitan's exhibition, the J. Paul Getty Museum's Byzantine icons exhibition, *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*, implicitly seized the site of Sinai as a discursive locus for the show's narrative. While this narrative did not break fully with historical order, it grounded the narrative on the contemporary (and historical) location of the icons in St. Catherine's Monastery at Sinai. Thus, the show took up three major tropes: 'Holy Image', 'Holy Space', 'Holy Site', as a manner of investigating the manner in which divine space and sacred site are mediated around icons. Charles Barber has adequately noted in an unpublished review that, 'the exhibition and its catalogue succeed in returning this icon collection to the horizon of its Sinaitic community'.⁶⁵ Understanding the full dimensions of the perceptual 'horizon', Barber – a frequent user of Gadamer's hermeneutics for his articulation of the icon – engages in his review with the crucial methodological choices in this exhibition strategy. Since the icons at Sinai accumulated over millennia, being donated for eternity to

the Monastery from across the Byzantine Empire and its diasporas, many questions linger in the minds of art historians about production, origin, stylistic development, and so on. Barber attributes the spatial, site-specific strategy of the exhibition to a desire to produce an alternative to the lacking art historical narratives. He nevertheless laments that much work is still necessary on these objects in order to be able to develop the collection into 'a coherent and convincing story of Byzantine art'.

I would argue, however, that such gaps do not need to be filled, but rather that they offer a refreshing freedom. Often, such details serve as an intellectual crutch that limits the spectrums of discourse by allowing scholars to rely on the comforts of chronology and safe, familiar narrative structures – encouraging endless monographs and decades of archival study that detract from the intellectual richness and efficacy of artistic legacies. While these were not the goals of the Getty show, the exhibition nevertheless allowed for Byzantinists and others alike to consider important questions regarding the discipline's alleged desire or need for data regarding an object's origin, provenance, or style as attested by Barber's review. If the field has in fact moved beyond concerns regarding connoisseurship, stylistic chronology, and origin-based narratives, then it would be hypocritical to then deploy these as fundamental and crucial facts. While there is much lost to time, much also remains. Site-specificity, for example, is one piece of evidence that may be fruitfully deployed as an organising methodology, as it was done in the Getty show. Cultural creation around us constantly reminds us that historical order is often an arbitrary system of classification. Instead, idiosyncratic thoughts, socially driven theses, and speculative realism may serve as tactics of resistance and creation that can be more convincing motivators in a history than the reattribution of a Late Antique sculpture. Absolute or relative chronologies, for example, can gloss over internal or localised historical tensions; thus, hushing the potentially revolutionary power of a past civilisation's materialised imaginary. If we acknowledge these issues as more important organising principles, then it is possible to forge a new taxonomy and a project-driven narrative of cultural and artistic production that is tied to the needs of a discipline – one that at least acknowledges itself to be evermore so enmeshed in contemporary politics and the construction of everyday life. I am not arguing against a radicalised formalism that threatens to monopolise the investigative ends of a certain history of art, but instead I am merely suggesting the thought that perhaps these details or concerns are not even needed to begin with – or in any form whatsoever.

The work of Alexander Nagel's *Medieval Modern* or Amy Knight Powell's *Depositions*, both from 2012, serve as more contemporary examples of what precisely it could mean to understand that 'order is for the historians'.⁶⁶ While Nagel attempts to see a form of cross-temporal continuation and manifestation in contemporary art of medieval sensibilities, Amy Knight Powell's methodological tool of the vignettes at the end of each chapter, which puts into dialogue early modern art with contemporary art, structures a generative system where rigorous historical order does not limit cross-temporal dialogue and thought. Powell's work seizes the type of viewing and thinking that precisely occurs in the museum and which Bickerton captured so adeptly in her brief review of the Byzantine show at the Met. This is a type of viewing and thinking about art that occurs throughout the museumgoers' errant meanderings through the galleries as they are attracted to random objects for equally random reasons.

While tethered to internal historical narratives and concerns, Powell's book endeavours to take seriously such a type of promiscuous thought, which traffics rapidly in

ideas not born out of concentrated research alone, but from the possibilities offered by idiosyncratic spaces and rhythms of experience. As such, Powell's project offers the groundwork for the type of thinking and writing of history that could be said to emerge from new networked forms of thought and interaction, such as Twitter feeds and Tumblr tags, and even older forms of aesthetic knowledge generation in which artists and worshippers alike partake when seeking artistic and spiritual inspiration. In terms of museum display, Glenn Peers's ground-breaking *Byzantine Things in the World* show at the Menil Collection (3 May–18 August 2013) operated on a system of curation that fosters such types of crosspollination and meandering, manifesting in spatial terms the very goals that Amy Knight Powell's book did in text.⁶⁷ Rather than prescribing unilateral or monolithic historical narratives, the Menil show's *heterotopia* produces a space through which fragmentation and disjuncture elicit the viewer to craft their own iterations of meaning – historically, aesthetically, religiously, and so on. Thus, what works such as Powell and Peers's demonstrate is that at times one-to-one representation alone is not the most effective form of incorporating audiences traditionally excluded from academic narratives.

Throughout this chapter, I have attempted to articulate my argument through a historiographic analysis of the recent past. At times, I have even risked overshadowing the agency of my own authorial voice so as to shatter the potential alterity of this project, which strives to stand on the margins of scholarship (wherever that margin may be at the time of this reading). Thus, my goal is not so much to argue for any originality, but rather to demonstrate that many of the goals set forth here are already in the process of unfolding. Various experiments in academic research were explored in the 1980–90s that came close to many of the goals discussed herein, such as visual culture studies in art history and post-processualism in archaeology, but these have been, for the most part, terminal works whose failure or dissipation can be attributed to the complicated developments of the field in the past decades.⁶⁸ A book that bears testament to the unsurpassed achievement in such experimentation is Rosalind Krauss's *The Optical Unconscious*. The success of Krauss's texts lies precisely in its canonicity. It worked against the grain of modernism by cutting through its dominant narratives, explicating its ideological field and that field's unconscious, internal logic. Described by its publisher as existing somewhere between art theory and personal memoir, it is nevertheless present in even the most canonical reading lists of modern and contemporary art history. I wish to elaborate now on what I see as the incessant division in Byzantine and medieval art history that has prevented such a work from emerging upon its horizon: the separation between history and historiography. Once again, at the risk of refracting my own thesis through the lens of another, I wish to deploy Rosalind Krauss's own deconstructive tool, that which she utilised to crack open the ideological field of modernism in *The Optical Unconscious*.⁶⁹

In her book (as in much of her subsequent work), Krauss deploys the Klein Group, a system utilised by Levi-Strauss and Frederic Jameson as a manner of articulating the ideological field of cultural production. This graph stages the opposition of two foundational, separate terms that must be culturally mediated by an imaginary resolution, such as myth. These two terms, *y* and *z* per se, are then opposed to their inverse, *not-y* and *not-z*. It is the field created by these four points and the syntheses of these four sides that articulate the field of the Klein Group. The binary I propose here is the complex of *history* and *historiography*. I would argue that the distinction between the investigation of 'art history' and the investigation of the methodological,

'historiographic' project of art history articulates the disjointed temporalities of these two goals in medieval art. The division draws lines in the academic field between proper history and historiographic/methodological investigations that are at times deemed anachronistic or peripheral, at best.

The Klein Group posited here (Figure 6.1) articulates the emergent difference between history and historiography, a distinction that produces the field of possibility in the production of scholarship. In the axis of history and not-history emerges the category of *heritage*, as articulated by David Lowenthal. Lowenthal argues that heritage stands as the dialectic of history and its corruption, the latter of which (at least for this argument) can be defined as distinctly not-history.⁷⁰ On the other side, I assign *theory* to the synthesis of historiography and not-historiography, for it emerges from an analysis of historical texts yet is distinctly not a historiographic endeavour in its atemporal articulation and implications – take for instance, Derrida's *Of Grammatology* or Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge*.

In the lower portion of the graph, in the synthesis of not-history and not-historiography lies the category of *fiction*. As a useful comparison in the context of this ideological grid, I offer up as an example of this category Jose Saramago's *History of the Siege of Lisbon*. In the novel, a transgressive proofreader inserts 'not' into a historical text on the siege of Lisbon that negates the conquest of Lisbon and thus sets out to rewrite the subsequent history. In its engagement with history and historiography – and its blatant articulation of its own difference in relation to both these categories – the text stands at the perfect interval between not-history and not-historiography.⁷¹

Finally, the last category within the field is that composed of the very binary on which the field is based, the relationship categorised as the *complex*. Here, it is in the complex that one encounters the synthesis of history and historiography. This union presents a challenge to the entire ideological grid since the structuralist graph operates precisely on an articulation of a necessary difference between these two terms. Therefore, its synthesis jeopardises the entire stability of that constitutive field and thus it is this union that must be ideologically prohibited, suppressed. Thus, this synthesis stands as the gateway into the system's internal logic.⁷² This category embodies the model of a proleptic historical project, as developed earlier. Through the enfoldment

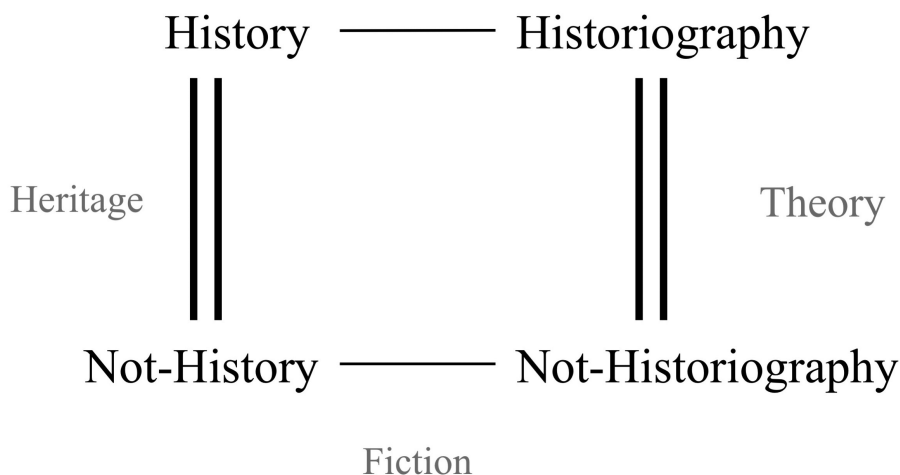


Figure 6.1 History-Historiography Klein Group (author).

of a present historiography with an investigation into the past, one produces a narrative that explores the very question of history and the now as one.

An epilogue in the place of a conclusion

I wish to end this essay with a fragment that should be nothing more than an anecdote. In the summer of 2011, I had the opportunity of doing site-based research in the Byzantine rock-cut churches of Cappadocia, an area whose research is severely limited by (unanswerable) positivist dilemmas regarding style and chronology. Cappadocia incessantly foils the art historian's desire to classify and order its development. The monuments, refracted through the discipline's own desires, have managed to 'return the gaze' within their own historiography since they actively – almost begrudgingly – resist and work against all foreign classifications. Those who advocate most strongly for fundamental training in stylistic analysis and chronology, promote the indispensable experience of *in situ*, object-based analysis. My thoughts here likewise emerge from the experience of the site – from an experience of the monuments 'in context', from a historical and historiographic consideration of style, chronology, typology, iconography, and workshops. Nevertheless, the experience of these spaces *in situ*, rather than divinely inspiring my ability to classify these monuments, instead provided me with the thick understanding of the long drives and walks to get to these churches, their curious and at times tragic uses in recent history – in other words, the wealth and paucity of the types of information they offer. Unlike many who work on this area, however, I find Cappadocia to be interesting not in its potential for new discoveries, but rather in its liberation from the strictures of a native history or self-evident chronology.

The region lacks (almost wholly) a written history and it constantly reminds one that the Constantinopolitan models do not work there. As such, Cappadocia is paratextual. It exists outside of time. Perhaps I cannot call Cappadocia prehistoric, but it is certainly parahistoric. Described explicitly as a province, in the margins between the Byzantine Empire and Seljuk Anatolia, the region and its monuments exist in the shadow of Constantinople's exuberant and resonant voice. In reflecting upon a potential approach to Cappadocia, I find myself infinitely returning to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's thesis-question, 'Can the subaltern speak?' On the one hand, 'Can Cappadocia speak?' resonates with the historical drive of its major art historians who have struggled with the problem of giving a 'historical' voice to a region that seems incapable of speaking on its own. On the other hand, this literal (mis)reading of Spivak's question precisely gives a historiographic voice to the epistemic violence that ensues not only throughout the history of the subaltern's marginalisation, but also through any attempt to provide that subaltern with a logocentric, homogenous voice.

Thus, Cappadocia's voice, caught between an archival silence and a historiographic monotony, can only be made to resonate through a shared historiographic and historical investigation of the region. What Cappadocia allows for is the production of a history that is different from that which exists for Constantinople, a rich capital crammed with bookkeepers, writers, and dated colophons. The pendulum of basic attributions and facts continues to swing endlessly for Cappadocia, just as it does for many undated, eccentric monuments in Constantinople or Sinai. Such details, however, are often trivial in the end. They may anchor an historian's argument in a certain instant, but they do little to fulfil the needs of history as a cultural phenomenon in

the present – and perhaps neither did such details contribute much in the past. After all, many of us do not know much about many of the objects and monuments that surround us. How many people today actually know who designed their iPhone, when it first hit the market, or the chronology of its various styles? These details may be important for some investigations, but the meaningful relationships between peoples and things do not emerge from these facts.⁷³ The style, chronology, typology, iconography, and factories that produced an iPhone say a lot about socio-economic factors, but they do not even begin to deploy the gamut of intellectual histories that it condensed in the Twitter Revolutions of the Arab Spring or in a single Facebook post. All monuments have lives beyond their creation or their styles, generating new ideas and theses across time. The only fact that we need is the knowledge of their existence and endurance – that they have been, remained, and transgressed the boundaries of centuries. The task then of the art historian is to lodge them to certain moments and situate them within certain discursive fields like a plug-in. In fact, many of the most challenging and enriching sources in the history of art thrive precisely on their ability to actively and wilfully *create* an active, if not hotly contested, field of discourse, rather than to merely uncover something that is staged as if it always already existed – arguments and disagreements may follow, but such strategies precisely orient discourse across a field, harnessing the thoughts and energies of scholars into hot, engaged discussions.

As such, a study on Cappadocia, like the Menil or Getty shows, could deploy the region and its sites as the organising principles – the at times coincidental encounters and surprises that occur for scholars on their visits in the company of mass throngs of tourists at some sites, and the wholly desolate experience of one's individual visit to a sole monument forgotten and hidden on a solitary cliff side or on an active pasture.⁷⁴ Through a phenomenological investigation of belonging and emplacement that deploys the complex of history and historiography, one can then go on to consider what these experiences could offer alongside a dialogic encounter with the booming voice of Constantinople and other distinctly Byzantine spaces. This projective history begins with a laugh similar to that which emerged between Foucault and Borges's Chinese encyclopaedia. This laugh releases all of our own disciplinary fear, allowing our categories of thought to crumble before us and freeing us to play in the wreckage. For the intrepid Cappadocia-scholar, however, the laugh does not happen before the silent pages of an encyclopaedia, but in the rich acoustic space of a rock-cut church. A proleptic project traces the resonances of this laugh: the fateful encounter between contemporary art historians and Cappadocia's space. As a theoretical text, this essay liberates itself from the strictures of both historiography and history in order to sketch a method of ethical art historical process that is proleptic in its rhetoricity. If its unfolding has been slow and meandering, it is because this essay desired to create eddies and whirlpools of thought and contemplation: to produce a different form of reading than that prescribed by the linear and teleological progression of an academic article in its march toward a singular take-away thesis. This essay cannot be a conclusive or finite method with prescribed rules and flowcharts, and as such is it destined to fail. Rather, it is meant to function as a declaration of the rights of objects per se, emancipating the free flow of thoughts and ideas through objects and peoples. This declaration relies on the ambiguities and valences inherent in these words for the generation of incessant questioning into our shared predicament in the global sphere of late modernity – a space that exists beyond Foucault's laugh.

Notes

- 1 A version of this paper was presented at the *Postcolonising the Medieval Image* symposium at the University of Leeds on 8 July 2010 and elements were elaborated on at the 'Displaying/Musealising the Medieval in the Postcolonial Present' roundtable at the International Medieval Congress at the University of Leeds on 13 July 2011. In preparing this paper for publication, I have attempted to preserve the original voice and argument of the work so that it may speak to the very particular moment and situation from which it emerged, precisely as a paper for my methods class in my first semester of graduate school in the fall of 2009. In doing so, I have added information that speaks to the evolving goals and progress that has occurred in the past years. I wish to thank Eva Frojmovic and Catherine Karkov for inviting me to participate in their various panels on postcolonialism and the Middle Ages and to include my contributions in this volume. I also wish to thank Robert S. Nelson, who read an early draft of this paper, and the anonymous peer reviewer who is perhaps this essay's first formal interlocutor and whose responses reassured me as to the burgeoning success of an ethically-driven art historical project. Now, I also must recognize the imperative of furthering this methodology in light of the events of 2016 in America and abroad.
- 2 Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage, 1973), xv.
- 3 Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), esp. 1–24.
- 4 Anne F. Harris and Karen Eileen Overbey, 'Field Change/Discipline Change', in *Burn After Reading/The Future We Want: A Collaboration*, ed. Eileen A. Joy, Myra Seaman and Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York and Washington, DC: Punctum and Oliphant Books, 2014), 127–43.
- 5 'Who Are We? Where Have We Come From? Where Are We Going?' Clark Art Institute (25–26 September 2009), <http://www.clarkart.edu/rap/RAP-Events/Event-117> (last accessed 14 October 2016).
- 6 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 29.
- 7 See, for example, Rachel Donadio, 'Vision of Home: Repatriated Works Back in Their Countries of Origin', *The New York Times*, 17 April 2014, www.nytimes.com/2014/04/20/arts/design/repatriated-works-back-in-their-countries-of-origin.html (last accessed 14 October 2016).
- 8 The 2006–07 Getty Center exhibition, *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*, was co-curated by art historian Robert S. Nelson and Kristen Collins, and the *Byzantine Things in the World* show at the Menil Collection (3 May–18 August 2013) was curated by art historian Glenn Peers. Both are discussed further below.
- 9 See note 4 above, as well as the Material Collective and BABEL Working Group blogs at <http://thematerialcollective.org/> and <http://blogs.cofc.edu/babelworkinggroup/> (last accessed 14 October 2016).
- 10 Christopher Tilley, 'Archaeology as Socio-Political Action in the Present', in *Reader in Archaeological Theory: Post-Processual and Cognitive Approaches*, ed. David S. Whitley (London: Routledge, 1998), 305–31, esp. 307; originally published in *Critical Traditions in Contemporary Archaeology: Essays in the Philosophy, History and Socio-politics of Archaeology*, ed. V. Pinsky and A. Wylie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 104–15.
- 11 For example, Harris and Overbey, 'Field Change/Discipline Change'.
- 12 UNESCO, 'Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage', *The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization meeting in Paris from 17 October to 21 November 1972* (Paris: UNESCO, 1972), 1–16, esp. 2.
- 13 Particularly, following the argument presented in Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: Norton, 2006).
- 14 James Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity? Museums and the Battle Over Our Ancient Heritage* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), esp. 155.
- 15 The former director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Philippe de Montebello, said in an interview, defending the universal role of the museum, that Asia and Africa, 'not only have

- regained interest in their own art, but also in that of the rest of the world' ('...non seulement ont retrouvé de l'intérêt pour leur art, mais aussi pour celui du reste du monde'). The notion that Asia and Africa 'have regained interest' ('ont retrouvé de l'intérêt') presupposes that these regions had a Euro-American notion of art before colonialism and that somehow they have now re-found it, a romanticised paradise regained. This is not to say that outside of Europe and America, communities do not believe in preserving their histories or value their material culture. On the contrary, it is precisely the active role that visual culture plays in the world, far beyond our exclusive categories of art and cultural heritage – which rely on divisions between popular and elite forms of culture – that make the enforcement of these delimiting notions problematic. One cannot pretend, however, that this problem is only about an uneasy culture-clash in the simulacrum of Dubai's deserts, but it is precisely a clash between scholarship as an overruling episteme and other forms of socio-cultural knowledge. The full quote makes startlingly evident the colonialist tone in which the statement was made: 'History is made of sacks and re-sacks. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, art went from the South to the North, from the collections of the Duke of Gonzaga to those of Charles I in England. Then, it went from West to the East, when Catherine the Great purchased a block of French collections. Then with colonisation in the nineteenth century, it went again from the South to the North, from Egypt or Assyria to the great museums that were founded then. But these countries, it must be said, demolished their temples and pyramids to collect stones and build stations and buildings. Today we are in a new phase. We have the responsibility to allow the works to travel again to the countries – in Asia or Africa – that not only have regained interest in their own art, but also in that of the rest of the world.' ('L'Histoire est faite de sacs et de ressacs. Aux XVI^e et XVII^e, l'art allait du Sud au Nord, les collections du duc de Gonzague vers celles de Charles I^{er} en Angleterre. Ensuite, il est allé de l'Ouest à l'Est, quand Catherine de Russie a acheté en bloc des collections françaises. Puis avec la colonisation, au XIX^e, à nouveau du Sud vers le Nord, d'Égypte ou d'Assyrie vers les grands musées qui se créaient. Mais ces pays, il faut le dire, démolissaient leurs temples et leurs pyramides pour récupérer les pierres et construire des gares et des bâtiments. Aujourd'hui, nous sommes dans une nouvelle phase. Nous avons la responsabilité de refaire voyager les œuvres vers des pays - en Asie ou en Afrique - qui non seulement ont retrouvé de l'intérêt pour leur art, mais aussi pour celui du reste du monde.'). (Translation mine.) Philippe de Montebello and N. Herzberg, 'Et si c'était le musée idéal?', *Le Monde* (14 October 2007), http://www.lemonde.fr/culture/article/2007/10/13/les-convictions-du-directeur-du-metropolitan-museum-of-art-de-new-york_966588_3246.html (last accessed 14 October 2016).
- 16 González-Ruibal clearly delineates in his work how the project of global heritage as articulated by UNESCO and its declarations are deeply indebted to neoliberal and neocolonial programmes. See Alfredo González-Ruibal, 'Vernacular Cosmopolitanism: An Archaeological Critique of Universalistic Reason', in *Cosmopolitan Archaeologies*, ed. Lynn Meskell (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 113–39, esp. 128.
 - 17 Recently, this issue has been considered at length in an ethnography of the contemporary Egyptian art world where these power/knowledge struggles are made evidently clear. See Jessica Winegar, *Creative Reckonings: The Politics of Art and Culture in Contemporary Egypt* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).
 - 18 Michael Camille, 'Epilogue: Idols as Art', in his *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 338–51, esp. 341.
 - 19 Fabio Rambelli and Eric Reinders, 'What does Iconoclasm Create? What does Preservation Destroy? Reflections on Iconoclasm in East Asia', *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*, ed. Stacy Boldrick and Richard Clay (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 15–33, esp. 24.
 - 20 Quoted in Joseph Koerner, 'The Icon as Iconoclasm', in *Iconoclasm*, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 164–213, at 170.
 - 21 Robert S. Nelson, 'The Discourse of Icons, Then and Now', *Art History* 12.2 (June 1989), 144–57.
 - 22 Cf. Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979); Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom, eds, *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997); Helen C. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art,

- 2004); Robert S. Nelson and Kirsten M. Collins, eds, *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007).
- 23 J. Paul Getty Museum, 'Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai', *The J. Paul Getty Museum*, http://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/icons_sinai/ (last accessed 14 October 2016).
 - 24 Nelson and Collins, eds, *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground*; http://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/icons_sinai/ (last accessed 14 October 2016).
 - 25 See Kostis Kourelis, 'Byzantine Houses and Modern Fictions: Domesticating Mystras in 1930s Greece', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 65–6 (2011–12), 297–331; Kostis Kourelis, 'Byzantium and the Avant-Garde: Excavations at Corinth, 1920s–1930s', *Hesperia* 76 (2007), 391–442.
 - 26 See Rico Franses, 'When All that is Gold Does Not Glitter', in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium*, ed. Anthony Eastmond and Liz James (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 13–24; Liz James, 'Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium', *Art History* 27.4 (September 2004), 522–37; Glenn Peers, *Sacred Shock: Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); Bissera Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010).
 - 27 Bissera Pentcheva, 'The Performative Icon', *Art Bulletin* 88.4 (2006), 631–55; Bissera Pentcheva, 'Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics', *Gesta* 50.2 (2011), 93–111; Sharon Gerstel, 'Monastic soundspaces in Late Byzantium: The Art and Act of Chanting', *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 135–52; Amy Papalexandrou, 'Text in Context: Eloquent Monuments and The Byzantine Beholder', *Word & Image* 17.3 (2001), 259–83; Alexander Lingas, 'Medieval Byzantine Chant and the Sound of Orthodoxy', *Byzantine Orthodoxies*, ed. Andrew Louth and Augustine Casiday (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), 131–50. For a précis of the recent, ongoing work on reconstructive acoustics by Sharon Gerstel, Amy Papalexandrou, Chris Kyriakakis, James Donahue, Konstantinos Raptis, and Spyridon Antonopoulos, see Adrienne LaFrance, 'Hearing the Lost Sounds of Antiquity', *The Atlantic* (19 Feb. 2016), <http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2016/02/byzantine-angel-wings/470076/> (last accessed 14 October 2016).
 - 28 David Morgan, *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice* (Berkeley: University of California, 2005); David Morgan, *The Embodied Eye: Religious Visual Culture and the Social Life of Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). See also Aden Kumler and Christopher Lakey, 'Res et Significatio: The Material Sense of Things in the Middle Ages', *Gesta* 51.1 (2012), 1–17.
 - 29 Conservators discussing the ethics of icon conservation at a recent conference agreed that when an icon belongs to a church or monastery, restorations are usually made to reconstruct damaged areas, such as the face, hands and nimbi of the image, in order to provide for optimal spiritual functionality – museum conservation, on the other hand, tends to be minimally invasive, aiming for preservation rather than restoration. 'From our point of view, the reconstruction of images, hands, figures, and nimbi using analogy is a must, because picture [sic] of these details has a sacred significance for believers'. A. Fedorchuk, 'Problems of Toning Treatment and Reconstruction of Losses in Icon-Painting', in *Icons: Approaches to Research, Conservation and Ethical Issues*, Conference Proceedings (Athens: December 2006). Full conference proceedings published online at: <http://www.icon-network.org/Approaches-to-Ethical-Issues.html> (last accessed 14 October 2016).
 - 30 Charles Barber, *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Bissera Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).
 - 31 For example, the collected papers in Maggie M. Williams and Karen Eileen Overbey, eds, *Transparent Things: A Cabinet* (New York: Punctum Books, 2013); the online journal *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art* at: <http://differentvisions.org/> (last accessed 14 October 2016).
 - 32 Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 4.
 - 33 'Cultural heritage is not about the past, nor about the present, nor the future. Rather it is about the relationship between the past and the present, and about the relationship between the past and the future....' Richard Leventhal, 'What is Cultural Property? And Why is it

- Important?’ Ethnohistory Workshop, Working Paper, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (unpublished, 2007), 1–12, esp. 2. A similar perspective has been advocated by social archaeologist Daniel Miller, who writes: ‘The authenticity of artifacts as culture derives, not from their relationship to some historical style or manufacturing process – in other words, there is not truth or falsity immanent in them – but rather from their active participation in a process of social self-creation in which they are directly constitutive of ourselves and others’. Daniel Miller, *Capitalism: An Ethnographic Approach* (Oxford: Berg, 1997), 215.
- 34 Ian Hodder, ‘The Past as Passion and Play: Çatalhöyük as a Site of Conflict in the Construction of Multiple Pasts’, in *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. Lynn Meskell (London: Routledge, 1998), 124–39.
 - 35 See, for instance, Veronica Kalas, ‘Recent News on the Conversion into Mosques of Byzantine Churches in Turkey’, *Society of Architectural Historians* blog (12 December 2013), <http://www.sah.org/publications-and-research/sah-blog/sah-blog/2013/12/12/recent-news-on-the-conversion-into-mosques-of-byzantine-churches-in-turkey> (last accessed 14 October 2016)..
 - 36 The problem of History and Heritage’s alleged corruptions of the former are discussed at great length by David Lowenthal, particularly in relation to cultural heritage and interactions with the past in his two, now classic texts: David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
 - 37 Some of her earlier work during the fall of the Soviet Union collaborated with new generations of philosophers engaged in an independent reading of Western theory. Susan Buck-Morss, *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).
 - 38 Susan Buck-Morss, *Thinking Past Terror: Islamism and Critical Theory on the Left* (London and New York: Verso, 2003).
 - 39 Jerrold Levinson, ed., *Aesthetics and Ethics: Essays at the Intersection* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); José Luis Bermúdez and Sebastian Gardner, eds, *Art and Morality* (London: Routledge, 2002); Arto Haapala and Oiva Kuisma, eds, *Aesthetic Experience and the Ethical Dimension: Essays on Moral Problems in Aesthetics* (Helsinki: Philosophical Society of Finland, 2003).
 - 40 Dorota Glowacka and Stephen Boos, eds, *Between Ethics and Aesthetics: Crossing the Boundaries* (Albany: State University of New York, 2002); Elaine A. King and Gail Levin, eds, *Ethics and the Visual Arts* (New York: Allworth, 2006).
 - 41 Jeffrey Alexander, ‘From the Depths of Despair: Performance, Counterperformance, and “September 11”’, *Sociological Theory* 22.1 (2004), 88–105; J. Alexander, Bernhard Giesen and Jason Mast, eds, *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
 - 42 W.J.T. Mitchell’s article version of *Cloning Terror*, precisely discussed the period from 2001 to 2004 in terms of the 2004 elections, when it was believed that the power of images from the ‘War on Terror’ would have caused political change in the election results. His post-election article precisely analyses this period, considering how these images exist after the election, given their supposed inability to cause a political change in the United States. W.J.T. Mitchell, ‘Cloning Terror: The War of Images 2001–04’, in *The Life and Death of Images: Ethics and Aesthetics*, ed. Diarmuid Costello and Dominic Willsdon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 179–207.
 - 43 Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). See also Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).
 - 44 Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
 - 45 *Materiality* proper in social archaeology has devoted itself to studying precisely how objects form the immaterial, religious and secular, conceptual worlds through the materiality of objects in the world. Materiality produces ‘material biographies’ of objects that permit for a discussion of the lifeworlds that objects constitute and that constitute them, however, without allowing the object’s physicality from becoming a constricting factor. This too has been greatly sheltered from art historical discourse due to its confusion

- with the common use of the term. However, since the first version of this paper in fall 2009, materiality has become an important and thriving subject in medieval art history. For early research on materiality, see Daniel Miller, ed., *Materiality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Lynn Meskell, ed., *Archaeologies of Materiality* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005); Lynn Meskell, *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present* (Oxford: Berg, 2004). For recent medieval publications on materiality, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Zone Books, 2011); Aden Kumler, 'The Multiplication of the Species: Eucharistic Morphology in the Middle Ages', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 59/60 (2011), 179–91.
- 46 Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, ed. J. Bywater (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1894), 3, 1095a.
 - 47 Randall McGuire, *Archaeology as Political Action* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 2–3.
 - 48 Max Horkheimer, 'Traditional and Critical Theory', and 'The Social Function of Philosophy', in Max Horkheimer, *Critical Theory: Selected Essays* (New York: Seabury Press, 1972), 188–243, 253–72.
 - 49 An important case study in this area is the recent publication of the Çatalhöyük site guardian's memoir, which details the site guardian's experiences on the site, responses to the archaeological work, and experiences with tourists and various other stakeholder groups. Sadrettin Dural, *Protecting Çatalhöyük: Memoir of an Archaeological Site Guard*, foreword by Ian Hodder (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007).
 - 50 Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, xv.
 - 51 Tilley, 'Archaeology as Socio-Political Action', 307.
 - 52 David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History of Theory and Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), xix.
 - 53 Alfredo González-Ruibal has recently argued that it is necessary for archaeology to orient itself towards the concerns of experience, narration, and people as a manner of demanding engagement with constituents and implicating itself in society, in order to be seen as a fundamental and necessary project. His approach is one possible tactic to achieve the ethical goals outlined here. Most importantly, this argument implies a need for the humanities and social sciences to justify their roles in society. This latter point should be seen not as an unwelcome necessity in a university system of tightened budgets, but rather as an active methodological impetus in one's work. He writes, 'Nevertheless, the objective of this work is also – fundamentally – to make seen the necessity of constructing an archaeology where experience, narration, and people have a fundamental place, if we desire that our work be comprehensible, accepted, and indeed demanded by society'. (Translation mine.) A. González-Ruibal, 'Experiencia, Narración, Personas: Elementos para una arqueología comprensible', *Complutum* 17 (2006), 235–46, esp. 236.
 - 54 Robert Nelson, 'The Map of Art History', *The Art Bulletin*, 79.1 (1997), 28–40, esp. 28.
 - 55 The literature on the colonial origins of major Western museums is vast. See, for example, Claire Farago and Donald Preziosi, eds, *Grasping the World: the Idea of the Museum* (New York: Routledge, 2004); John M. MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).
 - 56 His argument for this statement stands in direct relation to his manifold dialectic, whereby art stands against television and television stands against democracy, thus art serves as a manner of combating injustices against democracy through its criticality and activism against the televisual. David Joselit, *Feedback: Television against Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), xiii.
 - 57 Susan Buck-Morss, *Thinking Past Terror*, 103–4.
 - 58 The examination of the unconscious produces a narrative with a plurality of voices that exist amidst and within the dominant narratives of any given ideological field. In *The Optical Unconscious*, Rosalind Krauss deploys the term not as a psychoanalytic project, but rather as a manner of excavating the narratives of modernity that were suppressed or excised by the dominant voices of the period, such as Alfred Barr, Clement Greenberg, and Meyer Schapiro. Following Lacan's understanding of the unconscious, Krauss describes her project as an investigation of this 'inside consciousness', which 'undermines [consciousness] from within, fouling its logic, eroding its structure, even while appearing to leave the terms of that logic and that structure in place'. See Rosalind Krauss, *The Optical Unconscious* (Cambridge,

- MA: MIT Press, 1993), 24. The term has a widespread use in modern and contemporary art history as a manner of demonstrating the impetus of a work as being associated with a *critical* project – in the sense of the Frankfurt School. For the use of the unconscious, following Krauss especially, allows for an art history that works against the grain of society and emancipates the dialogues of those voices previously op-/re-pressed. For example, David Joselit writes in his politically motivated *Feedback* (2007) that his goal is ‘to visualize television’s unconscious’, or James Meyer’s article, ‘The Minimal Unconscious’, *October* 130 (2009), 141–76, uses the unconscious to describe an argument that works against the established narratives of minimalism. Neither of these engages in a psychoanalytic project, but rather works to excavate the internal tensions within such established norms.
- 59 Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Verso, 1994).
- 60 Homi Bhabha, *Our Neighbours, Ourselves: Contemporary Reflections on Survival* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 4; Amartya Sen, *The Idea of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 355–86.
- 61 See Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
- 62 Michael Baxandall, ‘Art, Society, and the Bouguer Principle’, *Representations* 12 (1985), 32–43, esp. 41.
- 63 I thank Helen Evans, the show’s curator, for passing on to me this review. Ashley Bickerton, ‘Top Ten’, *Artforum* (March 2011): <https://artforum.com/inprint/issue=201103&cid=27586> (last accessed 14 October 2016).
- 64 Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd edition (New York: Continuum, 1989).
- 65 I thank Charles Barber for sharing his review with me.
- 66 Amy Knight Powell, *Depositions: Scenes from the Late Medieval Church and the Modern Museum* (Cambridge, MA: Zone Books, 2011); Alexander Nagel, *Medieval Modern: Art Out of Time* (London: Thames and Hudson Press, 2012).
- 67 *Byzantine Things in the World*, ed. Glenn Peers (Houston: The Menil Collection, 2013).
- 68 James Elkins, Gustav Frank, and Sunil Manghani, eds, *Farewell to Visual Studies*. The Stone Summer Theory Institute at the Art Institute of Chicago. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015.)
- 69 Krauss’s work has also been employed by Bissera Pentcheva in her analyses of phenomenology, acoustics and the senses in Byzantine art. See her ‘Moving Eyes: Surface and Shadow in the Byzantine Mixed-Media Relief Icon’, *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 55/56 (2009), 222–34.
- 70 David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*.
- 71 For a deployment of this work as a methodological imperative, see Roland Betancourt, ed. ‘Imagined Encounters: Historiographies for a New World’, Special Issue, *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 7.1 (2016), 3–9.
- 72 Krauss’s system is ‘dated’ per se in its limited structuralism, yet as a structuralist system that acknowledges its own arbitrariness it provides an adequate sketch for considering a problematic spectre in the discipline. In a preemptive response to any critics of her choice to name her 1993 text after Frederic Jameson’s *The Political Unconscious*, Krauss writes at the end of her introductory chapter: ‘And so this book will be called *The Optical Unconscious*. Does it rhyme with *The Political Unconscious*? It’s a rhyme that’s intended; it’s a rhyme set into place by a graph’s idiotic simplicity and its extravagant cunning’. I subscribe to the same sentiment and deploy it for the same reason, its simplicity and cunning, understanding that with the graph comes the baggage of Krauss’s oeuvre and the limitations of structuralism and its myths. Rosalind Krauss, *The Optical Unconscious*, 27.
- 73 This position has been advocated in recent years by proponents of the interrelated approaches of materiality (discussed above), thing theory, and object-oriented ontology. See Ian Bogost, *Alien Phenomenology: Or What it’s Like to Be a Thing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Bill Brown, ‘Thing Theory’, *Critical Inquiry* 28 (Autumn 2001), 1–22; Levi Bryant, *The Democracy of Objects* (Ann Arbor: Open Humanities, 2011); Levi Bryant, Nick Srnicek, and Graham Harman, eds, *The Speculative Turn: Continental Materialism and Realism* (Victoria: Re.Press, 2011).
- 74 On tourism, theme parks, and Byzantine sites, see Annabel J. Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

Part 3

The ambivalence of the postcolonial



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

7 Postcolonialising Thomas Becket

The saint as resistant site

Alyce A. Jordan

Introduction

One critique of postcolonial interrogations of medieval artefacts is that such objects, by their very nature, comprise products of affluence and influence – what survives of medieval visual culture resides primarily in the realm of works commissioned by the hegemony rather than the subaltern.¹ This essay offers a response to that critique in the form of a question: what happens when the hegemony *becomes* the subaltern, when the centre becomes the margin? And what might a postcolonial inquiry of a medieval object produced under such conditions tell us about mechanisms of existence and modes of resistance to which such an environment gives rise? The object of this study is a narrative stained glass window in Angers cathedral devoted to St. Thomas Becket (Figures 7.1–7.3). It is among the earliest surviving, monumental, public depictions of Becket's life outside of Canterbury.² One of many visual evocations of the martyred archbishop of Canterbury, the Angers window forms part of a significant visual corpus which, in its iconographic diversity, composes a worthy counterpoint to the extensive contemporary documentation devoted to this famous medieval saint.³ In the case of the Angers window, I will argue for the particular significance of the martyred archbishop as a 'resistant site' in and upon which the window's patron, Bishop Guillaume de Beaumont, located a constellation of political, cultural, and familial referents as a gesture of resistance to the vastly altered world in which he found himself following the French conquest of continental lands long part of the Anglo-Norman empire (Figure 7.4).⁴

A resistant site can find its origin in a subject, object, or place but can be more broadly understood as a concept or space in which authority is both 'deformed and subverted'.⁵ 'Resistance' as a concept and praxis has generated an expansive discourse within and beyond the realm of postcolonialism.⁶ My conceptualisation of Thomas Becket as a resistant site is most immediately informed by bell hooks's discussions of margins and marginality, discussions which she often crafts in reference to her own experience of growing up in a family of 'black Americans living in a small Kentucky town'. hooks elaborates this marginal space as not only one of oppression and deprivation but as a site of 'refusal', 'resistance', and 'radical possibility', 'a central location for the production of a counter hegemonic discourse that is not just found in words but in habits of being and the way one lives', and 'which affirms continually not only the primacy of resistance but the necessity of a resistance that is sustained by a remembrance of the past ...'.⁷ All of the elements hooks articulates here resonate in this study of Bishop Guillaume de Beaumont and his Thomas Becket window.

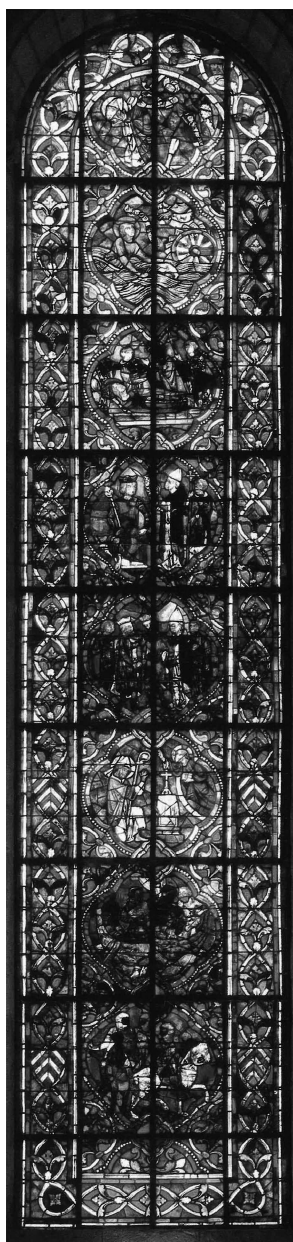


Figure 7.1 St. Thomas Becket Window, Angers Cathedral, c. 1230–35 (photograph: Henri de Feraudy).

I have also drawn on the discourse of ‘memory studies’ that originated in Pierre Nora’s multivolume collection *Realms of Memory*, which ‘seek[s] to locate the “memory places” of French national identity’. Like hooks’s marginal space, Nora’s ‘memory places’ (*lieux de mémoire*) are broadly conceived, ranging from literal sites and



Figure 7.2 St. Thomas Becket Window, Angers Cathedral, c. 1230–35, detail: the Murderers of St. Thomas Becket on Horseback; the Murderers of St. Thomas Becket sail across the Channel; Heraldry of the Beaumont family, Viscounts of Maine (photograph: Henri de Feraudy).

monuments (Verdun, the Eiffel Tower) to historical personages and their posthumous legacies (Descartes, Joan of Arc), to such amorphous venues as ‘the French language’. While these typically find their origin in a specific set of circumstances, their import as ‘memory places’ develops through a process of accretion as subsequent events transpiring on the same site become interlinked or a historic personage is invoked and appropriated for various reasons over time.⁸

I argue that Bishop Guillaume de Beaumont’s marginalised position in the wake of the French conquest of Plantagenet continental territories became for him a space of resistance. From that space Bishop Guillaume engaged in precisely such ‘habits of being’ that sustained a ‘remembrance of the past’. I contend further that the modes of resistance in which Bishop Guillaume engaged can themselves be envisaged/framed/

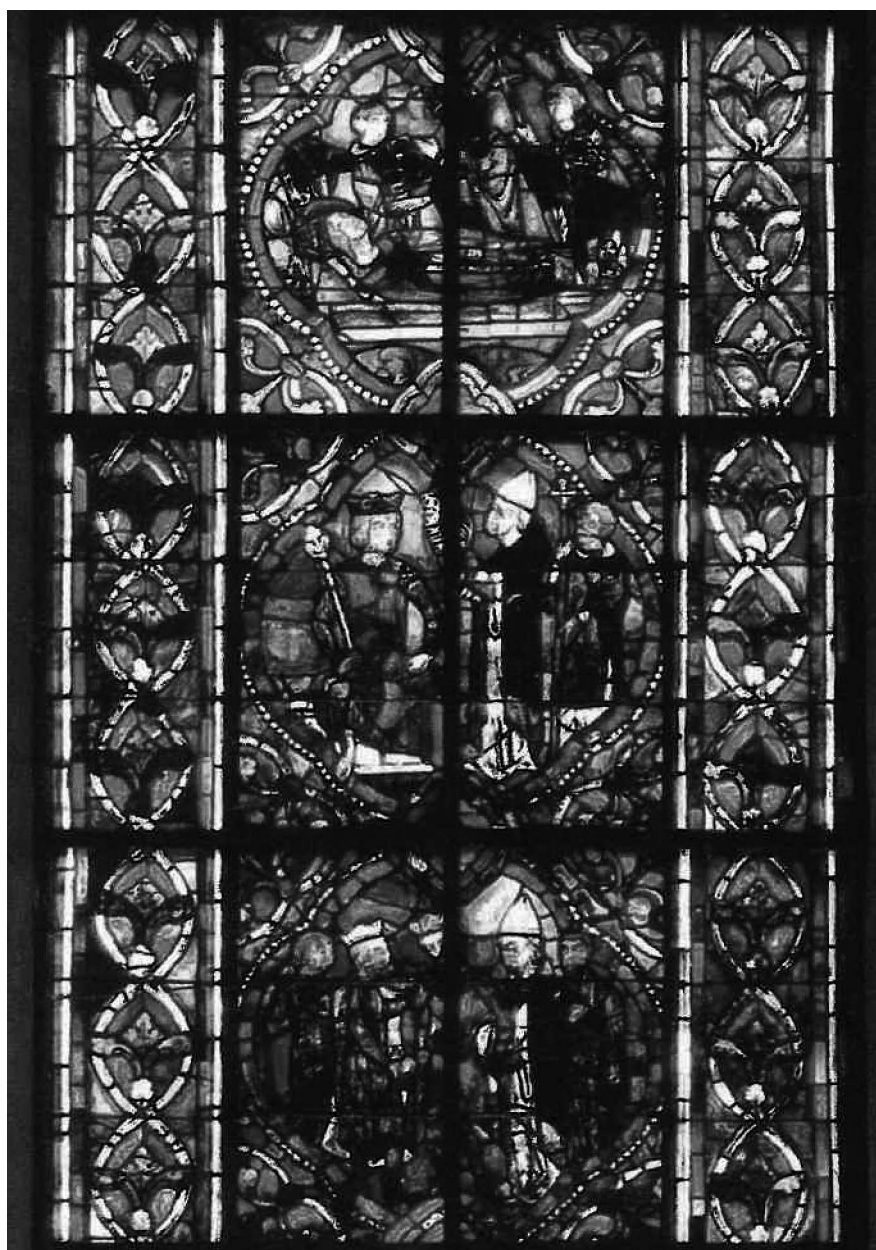


Figure 7.3 St. Thomas Becket Window, Angers Cathedral, c. 1230–35, detail: Coronation of Henry the Young King or Young King Henry refuses to meet with Thomas?; Thomas converses with Henry II; entombment (or translation?) of Thomas Becket (photograph: Henri de Feraudy).

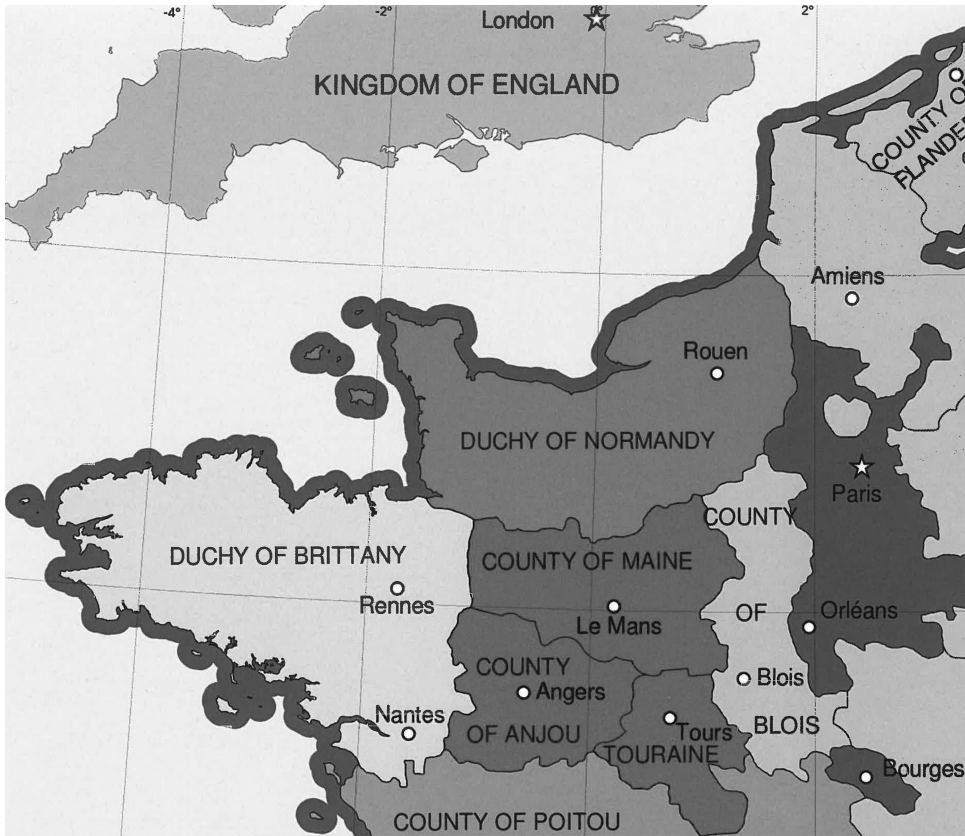


Figure 7.4 The Angevin Empire, northern continental holdings of the Plantagenet kings prior to 1204 (photograph: Adapted from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:France_1154-en.svg; original image by Reigen [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons).

delimited as ‘resistant sites’. One such example would be Guillaume’s extensive patronage of his diocese, especially his own cathedral, by means of which the bishop sustained the history and memory of the privileged position Angers had enjoyed under Plantagenet rule. Similarly, St. Thomas Becket – his ‘*natio*’, the events of his life, the people with whom he interacted, his hagiographic legacy and the visual culture to which that legacy gave rise – collectively comprises a site (*place/lieu*) that Bishop Guillaume adopts and adapts in complex, ambivalent and ultimately subversive ways. In Guillaume’s Thomas Becket window, the saint becomes a vehicle for articulation of the bishop’s resistance to the recent French takeover of his episcopal and familial lands. My characterisation of St. Thomas Becket as a ‘resistant site’, then, draws on multiple discursive threads including explorations of resistance and the variant venues within which resistance may be manifest. Thomas Becket’s ethnic/professional/hagiographic multivalence made him a capacious locus for such articulation. That works of art, in their subject matter and visual rhetoric, can function as sites of resistance is an idea explored in other art historical venues; my use of this construct here demonstrates its further applicability to the art of the Middle Ages.⁹

Frontier studies offer yet another tool beyond historical contextualisation that facilitate interrogation of the Becket window's equivocal narrative. Like postcolonialism, medieval applications of frontier studies seek to deconstruct monolithic understandings of the Christian medieval west through exploration of specific, localised, geographic areas in which divergent political, military, social, and cultural institutions interacted. As Nora Berend has observed, a frontier in the Middle Ages comprised not a linear demarcation in the modern sense of a border, but rather a region or zone – a fluid spatial entity containing comparably fluid institutions and structures, which, in turn, enabled and encouraged the construction of multiple loyalties and multivalent identities.¹⁰ No scholar has done more to articulate the complex, often contradictory, dynamics animating the Angevin marches of Normandy than Daniel Power. His painstaking excavation of religious and charitable donations, marital records and dowries, and traditions of standing surety has illuminated the extent to which the families inhabiting these regions operated according to elaborate patterns of local loyalties and historical customs within the larger contingencies of Capetian and Plantagenet agency.¹¹ Such scholarship, in concert with seminal postcolonial concepts of hybridity, disparate temporality, and the existence of heterogeneous, localised discourses provide tools with which Angers' ambivalent Thomas Becket window may be at least partially excavated.

Thomas Becket at Angers

I begin with an examination using established modes of art historical inquiry: iconography and contextual analysis. The Becket window at Angers contains quadrilobe medallions disposed in a single column (Figures 7.1–7.3).¹² While retaining only five of its original eight medieval panels, the Angers window offers a distinctive interpretation of Becket's life, especially in comparison to the windows of Sens and Chartres, which foreground the moral superiority of Louis VII, king of France, relative to his English counterpart Henry II. While Henry was widely considered culpable for the murder of Becket, carried out by four of his own knights, Louis VII had offered Becket sanctuary on French soil, and sought to broker a reconciliation between the archbishop and his estranged monarch. Two of the Angers panels mirror those found in the other Becket windows: the archbishop conversing with Henry II, and his entombment. The three other scenes, to my knowledge, appear nowhere else in surviving monumental Becket cycles. The first may reference either the coronation of young king Henry in June 1170, or the young king's refusal to meet with Becket following his return to England later that year.¹³ Two additional panels are devoted exclusively to Becket's murderers, who appear on horseback and traversing the English Channel by boat. This window also contains the heraldic blazon of the Beaumont family (*or six chevrons gules*), repeated four times in its borders (Figures 7.1–7.2).

I have been drawn to explore connections between these unusual scenes and the Beaumont family, not only because the very presence of their heraldry inscribes the Beaumonts into the window's narrative, but because other evidence for the veneration of Thomas Becket at Angers is conspicuous in its absence. Thomas wisely avoided the region during his exile, since it lay in the heart of Henry's continental holdings, and Raymonde Foreville determined that, with the exception of Normandy (the birthplace of Becket's parents), the archbishop was not particularly honoured within the hereditary domains of the Plantagenet Empire, even after the regions came under French

control.¹⁴ Angers possessed no relic of the saint, a point of some import, since the Becket lancet is one of only two windows in the medieval glass ensemble lacking complementary representation amongst the cathedral's relics and altars.¹⁵ And while Guillaume de Beaumont is credited with overseeing the entire choir glazing campaign, the family's heraldry appears only here and in one other window dedicated to St. Julian of Le Mans, the patron saint of Le Mans cathedral, where Guillaume had served as a canon.¹⁶

Bishop Guillaume's family history offers compelling links to the Angers Becket window. Guillaume's ancestors were the hereditary viscounts of Maine and vassals of the Plantagenet kings until the territories of Maine, Touraine, and Anjou were conquered by France (Figure 7.4). The Beaumonts were blood relations of Henry II by virtue of their common descent from the king's grandfather, Henry I. Henry II's son, John, had helped secure Guillaume's elevation to the bishopric of Angers even while embroiled in hostilities with the king of France.¹⁷ These ancestral and political bonds were fractured when Guillaume's brother, the viscount of Maine, threw his allegiance to Philip Augustus in 1203, just months after Guillaume's episcopal election; Philip's conquest of the western territories soon followed, and the Beaumonts became subjects of the French Crown.¹⁸ My analysis investigates the Angers Becket window through this web of political and genealogical ties.

Indeed, each panel proffers a connection between Archbishop Thomas, Henry II and the Beaumont family. Even a scene as generic as Thomas conversing with Henry evokes particular resonance within the context of Beaumont history. The scene depicts Henry seated on the left and Thomas standing before him on the right (Figure 7.3). Thomas raises his right hand in a gesture of address, his cross-bearer, Edward Grimm, standing behind him. As cousins of Henry II and one of the most prominent families in the Normandy-Maine marches, members of the Beaumont clan could have met Thomas Becket during his tenure as Henry's chancellor. Thomas travelled with Henry II through the Angevin territories in 1156–57 and from Normandy on to Toulouse in 1159–62.¹⁹ The encounter between Henry II and the archbishop prior to the latter's departure for Canterbury also constitutes a standard element in Becket iconography, appearing in all of the French Becket windows. The windows of Sens and Chartres, however, depict this conversation in the context of a visual opposition between Henry, the evil king who drove Thomas into exile, and the good king Louis VII, who provided the archbishop and his entourage with refuge.²⁰ At Angers, Henry II exhibits no overt signs of evil intent toward his archbishop (Figure 7.3).

In 1170, Henry II had been universally condemned for his tacit, if not active, role in the archbishop's murder. Pope Alexander III had placed his lands under interdict, and Henry was forbidden from entering a church. By 1172, however, Henry had made peace with the pope and had agreed to numerous acts of atonement. In 1174 Henry made a high-profile pilgrimage to Becket's tomb to do penance for his role in the saint's murder, and to invoke his aid in suppressing a far-flung rebellion spearheaded by his son, the young king Henry.²¹ The elder Henry credited his decisive victory later that year to Thomas's intervention. David Knowles observed that Henry II effected 'a remarkably successful recovery' in the decade following Becket's death,²² and it is, perhaps, this gentler assessment of the English king that the Angers window depicts. That Henry might have received more generous scrutiny, pictorial or otherwise, in an Angevin church – even without Bishop Guillaume's involvement – is not necessarily surprising. Philip II's conquest of Normandy, Anjou, Poitou, and Touraine had made

the region part of a rapidly expanding French realm (Figure 7.4). Frequent uprisings against French domination, however, remained a visible sign of the conflicted loyalties of its inhabitants. Henry's ambiguous depiction in the Angers Becket window offers a visual counterpoint to these events; Guillaume de Beaumont's family history offers a case study of the rifts such conflicts engendered.

Guillaume de Beaumont's father Richard, viscount of Maine (r. 1175–1200/01), had numbered among Henry II's closest allies, his loyalty evinced by Henry's gift to Richard of Bourg-le-Roi, a strategically-situated chateau Henry built overlooking the primary route between Normandy and Maine (Figure 7.4).²³ Henry II's largess included the arrangement of profitable marriages for the viscount's daughters Constance and Ermengarde.²⁴ The more high-profile of these transpired in 1186 between Ermengarde de Beaumont and William the Lion, king of Scotland. The Beaumont family's most intimate bonds to Henry II – and to Thomas Becket – may well have resulted from the addition of William of Scotland to the Beaumont family circle.

Royal relatives and saintly connections

King William of Scotland (r. 1165–1214) and his ancestors boasted their own dense linkage with the kings of England. In 1100, Henry I of England wed Matilda, sister to a succession of three Scottish kings – Edgar (r. 1097–1107), Alexander (r. 1107–24) and David (r. 1124–53) – the second of whom, Alexander, married one of Henry I's illegitimate daughters, thereby establishing a familial connection between the Beaumonts of Maine and the Scottish Crown predating the marriage of Ermengarde and William. King David of Scotland knighted the future Henry II, and Henry II, in turn, knighted the future Scottish kings Malcolm IV (r. 1153–65) and his younger brother, William the Lion. Malcolm and William attended Henry II's court at Woodstock in 1163, an event which included the recently consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket. King Malcolm intervened the following year in an attempt to facilitate a reconciliation between Henry and his estranged prelate.²⁵ Upon his accession to the Scottish throne in 1165, William was often in Henry II's company. William and his younger brother David, later earl of Huntingdon, appeared at a council convened by Henry II in April 1170 at Windsor, and in May of that year, David, like his brothers before him, was knighted by Henry. The following month Henry II had his son, Henry, crowned king by the archbishop of York, in direct defiance of the prerogative of Canterbury. William of Scotland and his brother attended young king Henry's coronation, and both pledged their allegiance to him the following day.²⁶ The singular inclusion at Angers of a panel depicting young Henry's coronation may reference William the Lion's attendance at that event and/or his subsequent act of homage to the young king (Figure 7.3).²⁷

William's hitherto loyal service to Henry II faltered grievously in 1174, when he joined the young king's rebellion against his father, enticed by the junior Plantagenet's promise to restore to him the lands of Northumberland, once held by the kings of Scotland, but long under Henry II's control. In response to this broad-based rebellion, Henry II called upon his murdered – now canonised – archbishop, doing penance at Becket's tomb and beseeching the saint to preserve his reign.²⁸ According to the chronicler Jordan Fantosme, Henry II's forces defeated William's army and took the Scottish king prisoner the same day as the Angevin king's penitential performance at Canterbury. William was transported across the Channel and imprisoned. There, in

December 1174, William submitted to the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Falaise, which stipulated he pay homage to Henry for Scotland and that, henceforth, the Scottish Church be subject to the Church of England. Additionally, Henry took possession of five of William's most prominent castles, among them Edinburgh and Stirling, and twenty-one hostages, including his brother David and his constable Richard of Moreville.²⁹

Thus humbled, William of Scotland thereafter remained Henry II's loyal ally and, by the time Henry II arranged his marriage to Ermengarde de Beaumont, had demonstrated himself sufficiently trustworthy to warrant Henry's return of Edinburgh castle as part of Ermengarde's dowry. A lavish affair financed by Henry, held at the royal chapel at Woodstock, and attended by the upper echelons of English and Scottish nobility, the marriage of William and Ermengarde was performed by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, on 5 September 1186. Scholars have suggested that William might have expected Henry to provide him with a wife of higher station than the daughter of the viscount of Maine.³⁰ Viewed from an alternate perspective, Henry's choice of Ermengarde might speak to the high esteem in which the Plantagenet king held his *manceau* cousin and ally.

King William may have credited Ermengarde's generous dowry and Henry's easing of the onerous terms of the Falaise Treaty to the benevolent intervention of St. Thomas Becket. For William had taken seriously the widely held belief that Henry's appeal to St. Thomas at the height of his son's rebellion and his penitential acts before Becket's tomb were responsible for the Plantagenet king's victory in 1174. In 1178, William founded an abbey in Thomas Becket's honour with munificent endowments that he amplified throughout his reign. The first foundation devoted to Becket in Scotland, Arbroath Abbey became the country's second richest monastery and a pilgrimage site of major significance, distinctions it held until the Reformation. William's foundation charter states that he established Arbroath 'in honour of God and Saint Thomas archbishop and martyr' for 'the salvation of my soul and those of my ancestors and successors'.³¹ In 1181, William made a pilgrimage to Canterbury in the company of Henry II. The Scottish king journeyed to Becket's shrine again in 1189, where he surely gave thanks for king Richard I's annulment of the Treaty of Falaise.³² William appears early on to have selected Arbroath for his final resting place, where he was duly interred upon his death in 1214.³³

Devotion and subversion

The network of familial and contextual connections linking Bishop Guillaume de Beaumont to Thomas Becket might in itself offer a satisfactory justification for Guillaume's inclusion of a window dedicated to the saint in Angers cathedral. Such correlation-causality arguments compose a cornerstone of art historical analysis. What historical contextualisation does not offer, however, is a means to interpret the unusual form this window takes. It is here that postcolonial discourse proves particularly valuable and, indeed, necessary. St. Thomas appears alive in only two of the window's five surviving panels. Angers' hagiographic narrative thus focuses not on the life of Thomas Becket but on *events in his life* that connect the window's patron, Bishop Guillaume, with the Anglo-Norman world from which he had recently been severed. In so doing the window visualises a distinctive narrative of loss, anxiety, and resistance.

The archbishop's death takes centre stage in the Angers window. Although a scene depicting the saint's murder has not survived, it comprised a requisite component of the story, and its prior existence is supported by a medieval panel depicting his entombment, or possibly his 1220 *translatio*, since the ritual is overseen by a bishop rather than a monk (Figure 7.3). Karine Boulanger has determined that a censuring angel once occupied the uppermost panel in the pre-restoration window, a scene she believes to have been original.³⁴ The two images devoted to Thomas's murderers would thus have brought the total number of death-related scenes to five out of eight. This narrative elaboration can again be linked to Beaumont family history.

The devotion to Thomas Becket evinced by Guillaume's brother-in-law, William of Scotland, may have derived not only from the king's hope of expiation for his rebellion against Henry II, but also from a certain sense of culpability for Becket's murder stemming from the Scottish monarchy's intimate connection to one of Becket's assassins, Hugh de Moreville. The Morevilles held lands in both England and Scotland, as well as territories in Normandy, from whence the family originally hailed. William's father David had bestowed upon Hugh de Moreville (Hugh-the-assassin's father) the hereditary position of Constable. Richard de Moreville (Hugh-the-assassin's brother) succeeded to the post of Constable in 1162 and served King William in this capacity until his own death in 1189.³⁵

While King William's intimate connection with one of the archbishop's assailants could account for the window's general emphasis on Thomas's death and the men responsible for his murder, it does little to explain the specific depictions these assailants assume, depictions which, by virtue of their compositional parallels to Becket iconography had, by the 1230s, become visual tropes central to the saint's own cult. The panels in which Becket's assassins travel to Canterbury by boat and on horseback echo two key events in Becket's biography involving the saint's own crossing of the English Channel. During his tenure as chancellor, Thomas made this voyage many times. As archbishop, however, Thomas crossed the Channel only twice, once in 1164, when he fled England for France, and again in 1170, when he returned to Canterbury to resume his post as archbishop, an office he held barely a month before his death.³⁶ Both voyages assumed prominent positions in the saint's posthumous legacy. They numbered as two of the five events in Becket's life known as 'Thomas Tuesdays' because both trips, together with his birth, flight from Northampton, and death transpired on the third day of the week.³⁷ Canterbury Cathedral and Arbroath Abbey commemorated the archbishop's fateful return from exile with a special liturgical office known as the *Regressio* of St. Thomas.³⁸ The Sens, Chartres, and Coutances windows all contain scenes of the archbishop crossing the Channel, and Thomas traveling by ship comprised one of the standard types of *ampullae* in which the saint's miraculous water was dispensed (Figures 7.1–7.2, 7.5).³⁹ Thomas appeared also on horseback, a reference both to the overland portion of his flight from England and his return to Canterbury. Scenes of Thomas on horseback appear in manuscript illumination and in the Chartres Becket window.⁴⁰ At Angers, however, these voyaging scenes feature not the Canterbury saint, but rather, his aristocratic assassins, who cross the Channel by boat and journey overland on horseback just as they did in December 1170 (Figure 7.2).⁴¹ The Angers panels thus invert prevalent Becket imagery, proffering scenes that appropriate totemic iconographies of Thomas's life in ambiguous, destabilising, even subversive ways. As Karen Overbey has noted, such appropriation and subversion of visual motifs are central artistic strategies of both

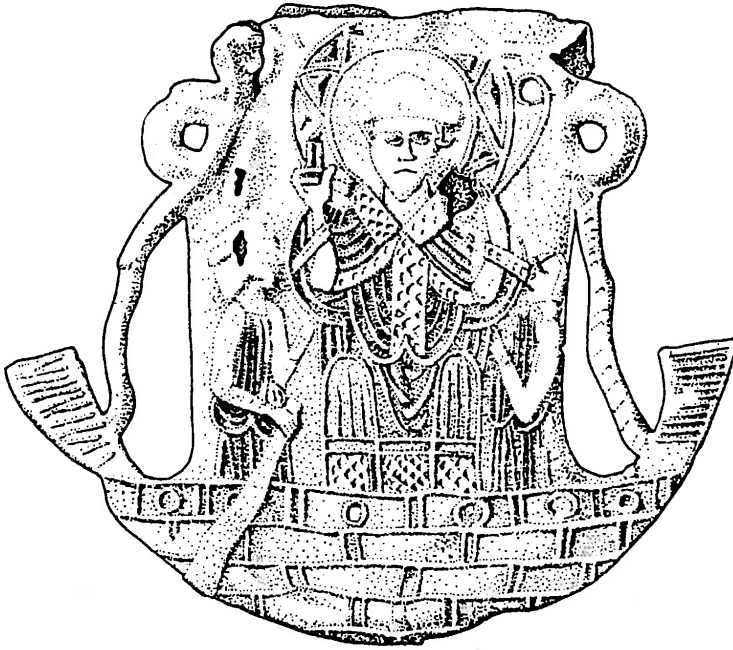


Figure 7.5 St. Thomas Becket Ship-Shaped Ampulla, c. 1250, obverse, Museum of London (photograph: © Museum of London).

colonial domination and colonial resistance.⁴² The application of such an artistic strategy here may be understood as a resistant re-imaging of the saint's life by the window's colonised episcopal patron.

The Angers window's ambivalent rendition of Thomas Becket's life and death seems to invoke the martyred archbishop primarily as a vehicle to memorialise – even valorise – the Beaumont family's Scottish and Angevin connections. While Bishop Guillaume's elder brother Raoul, viscount of Maine, ultimately joined forces with Philip Augustus in the French king's quest for control of the Angevin territories, ample evidence exists that Guillaume himself sought to preserve the Beaumont family's venerable linkage to its Plantagenet relatives and ancestry long after John's loss of Anjou, Maine, and, in 1214, Normandy.⁴³ Abbé Angot describes Guillaume as 'always under English influence' ('toujours sous l'influence anglaise'), citing as evidence the bishop's entreaty of his brother not to contest a grant made by Richard I to the abbey of Mélinais, lest he disgrace the honour of the Beaumont family name.⁴⁴ While Raoul dutifully served in the military campaigns of Philip Augustus and his son, the future Louis VIII, Guillaume engaged in sustained patronage of Beaumont and Plantagenet religious sites.⁴⁵ Guillaume proved an impassioned proponent of his episcopal diocese, enhancing his cathedral's collection of relics, financing the rebuilding and decoration of its transept and choir, largely out of his own resources, and advocating for reparations to his cathedral for damages inflicted by the Capetian monarchy during the revolts that plagued the early years of Louis IX's reign.⁴⁶

Postcolonialism and frontier studies

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, medieval frontiers were not concrete borders but fluid spaces in which heterogeneous loyalties and identities were constructed and contested. The Beaumonts of Maine comprise a poster family for the dense, often conflicting tapestry of identities and allegiances realised by the aristocratic inhabitants of the Angevin territories in the period encompassing the coalescence and dissolution of the Plantagenet Empire in western France.⁴⁷ In the span of scarcely three generations the Beaumonts were transformed from a *manceau* family of moderate import to intimate, trusted and valued relations of the Plantagenet dynasty. Richard de Beaumont, his brother bishop Raoul, and his sons, Raoul and bishop Guillaume, enjoyed close contact with Henry II, Richard I, and John, and could claim the king of Scotland as an in-law.⁴⁸ The Beaumont lands expanded from a single castle along the Normandy-Maine border to a cluster of chateaux that protected the primary route between Normandy and the southern Plantagenet domains of Maine and Anjou, with additional properties in Normandy, and, via marriage, northern England and Scotland.⁴⁹ The family became the viscounts of Maine, and boasted two generations of bishops in the diocese that was a comital holding of Henry II. In far less time than it took for the Beaumonts' rise to prominence, the family endured a dramatic diminution in status concomitant with that of the Angevin territories themselves. The prolonged Plantagenet-Capetian wars decimated the region. Raoul de Beaumont's desertion of King John severed the royal connections upon which the family's prestige rested. Maine and Anjou themselves shifted from central territories of the Plantagenet Empire to subjugated colonies at the periphery of Capetian France (Figure 7.4).⁵⁰

Jeffrey Jerome Cohen has observed that geographies transformed by war, occupation, and conquest give rise to contiguous cultures which 'in their difference and overlap struggle not simply over space as *patria* and colony, but over time...'.⁵¹ The Plantagenet-turned-Capetian territories of western France comprised just such topographically and temporally contested sites. Their conquest by Philip Augustus engendered a cataclysmic reconfiguration, fracturing families, properties, identities and histories. Bishop Guillaume de Beaumont embodied what Cohen has called the 'impossible simultaneity' such political upheaval engenders.⁵² An ardent supporter of the Plantagenet monarchy, Guillaume de Beaumont's identity was predicated on a dense matrix of genealogical, cultural, political and spiritual ties. Forced to disavow the very king to whom he owed his episcopal appointment, Guillaume dedicated the rest of his long tenure as bishop to the cathedral and city that had once stood at the epicentre of the Angevin dynasty's hereditary domains but which, by the 1230s, had become a marginalised French backwater.

On the other side of the Channel, however, Guillaume's sister, Ermengarde, and her descendants, continued to thrive within the orbit of Plantagenet life. In 1212, Ermengarde took part in a meeting at Durham between her aged husband and King John, during which the two monarchs renewed their mutual allegiance to the other, swore that each would do whatever necessary to secure the inheritance of the other's heir to their respective thrones, and agreed upon a timetable for the marriage of William and Ermengarde's son, Alexander, to John's daughter, Joan. John knighted Alexander in London later that year. Between 1212 and 1214, Ermengarde and Alexander assumed heightened profiles in Scottish royal administration, and, upon William's death in 1214, Alexander assumed the Scottish throne as Alexander II.⁵³ The

genealogical and political bonds between the Beaumonts of Maine and the Plantagenet monarchy endured – via the progeny engendered by Bishop Guillaume's sister and brother-in-law – well into the fourteenth century. The vehicle by which Bishop Guillaume might reify the illustrious linkage of the Beaumont and Plantagenet families, and articulate its past, present and future – if politically and geographically disjointed – continuation, lay in the life of Thomas Becket.

The practice of theory

Like most visual narratives, the Angers Thomas Becket window encourages interpretation on multiple levels. Embedding the window in its historical context proffers several persuasive readings. As Karine Boulanger has shown, the window functions as part of a larger programme devoted to the celebration of bishops, which emerges as a through-line to the choir glass ensemble as a whole. It operates more specifically as part of a visual dialectic on positive and negative episcopal-royal relationships, situated as it is across the choir from the window devoted to St. Eloi, who, unlike St. Thomas, enjoyed the unfaltering support of his monarch, Clotaire.⁵⁴ On a personal level, Guillaume's inclusion of Thomas Becket among the saints of his cathedral choir served to visually link the bishop with his sister Ermengarde, queen of Scotland and her royal family, whose veneration of St. Thomas Ermengarde's husband, William, had established with his foundation of Arbroath Abbey. William's son and heir, Alexander II, continued his father's tradition of benefactions to Arbroath, albeit on a lesser scale, a pattern sustained by Scottish monarchs even after their specific dynastic linkage to William the Lion had ended.⁵⁵ St. Thomas, for his part, repaid the family's devotion by bestowing miraculous cures on numerous Scots, including Robert, a servant of king William's brother, David.⁵⁶

The Angers window's emphasis on Becket's assassins, proffers still another vector in its reconfiguration of the narrative. The window could potentially be construed as an expiatory offering for the role played by Beaumont relations and associates in the saint's death. In addition to Hugh de Moreville, the brother of William the Lion's constable, another of Becket's murderers, Reginald fitz Urse, may, like the Beaumonts of Maine, have been descended from Henry I and thus a blood relation. A third assassin, William de Tracy, held a baronage in England and extensive lands in Maine. Nicholas Vincent has described William as perhaps 'the most remorseful' of St. Thomas's assassins, making penitential gifts of his English holdings to Canterbury and founding a leper hospital in Maine at Couesmes-en-Froulay, near Ambrières, the site of his family's estates. William de Tracy and the Beaumonts made donations to some of the same *manceau* religious establishments and, given their shared status as *manceau* nobility, would surely have known each other.⁵⁷ Hugh de Moreville, the most 'socially exalted' of the four knights, had been raised in the Scottish court and was intimately associated with the court of Henry II. He witnessed the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164 as well as many of Henry II's charters in England, Normandy, and Anjou. Thus, in addition to his connection to William the Lion, Hugh, like William de Tracy, could have had direct contact with the Beaumonts of Maine. Hugh may also have had close ties with Thomas Becket, who addressed him by name during the altercation at Canterbury.⁵⁸

While all of these connections exist at some remove from the Angevin bishop and his family, in the Middle Ages, guilt-by-association, like family honour and memory, could exert a long reach. If, as Daniel Power has said, 'a nobleman's war



Figure 7.6 St. Thomas Becket Ampulla, c. 1200–50, obverse, St. Thomas flanked by Knights, British Museum, #1921,0216.62 (photograph: © Trustees of the British Museum).

was the concern of his whole lineage to the seventh degree', how far might a nobleman's murder of a sainted archbishop have reverberated in the consciousness – and conscience – of even distant relatives and associates?⁵⁹ This reading would posit the Angers window, with its repetition of Beaumont heraldry and emphasis on St. Thomas's murderers, as a penitential gesture for the Beaumont family's myriad connections to those responsible for the archbishop's death, an interpretation supported by the survival of several *ampullae* in which Becket's murderers appear comparably foregrounded (Figures 7.1–7.2, 7.6).⁶⁰ The window additionally honoured a saint favoured by Angers' new French rulers. French royal patronage of Thomas Becket amplified the collective sanctity of the Capetian monarchy by memorialising Louis VII's efforts to defend the archbishop. Guillaume's inclusion of a window to St. Thomas could thus be construed as a gesture of alliance to his region's French conquerors.⁶¹

Such an expiatory and honorific reading, however, would be at odds with the visual evidence of the stained glass panels themselves, and demonstrates again the limits of an interpretation confined solely to historical contextualisation (Figures 7.1–7.2). These knights are visually arresting. Nothing ignoble defines their images, quite the opposite. They impress by their scale, compositional sophistication – evident in the frontal, foreshortened rendering of the equestrian knight and his mount – and the attention lavished upon their aristocratic trappings, in particular the minute articulation of their chain mail. The artistic engagement with such noble signifiers resonates with the recurrent inclusion of Beaumont heraldry in the lancet's borders. This pictorial articulation of knightly status extends beyond the Becket lancet to the *manceau* viscounts themselves, who, in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, adopted a seal bearing, on its reverse side, the Beaumont arms, and, on the obverse, an equestrian, chain-mailed knight brandishing an outstretched sword (Figure 7.7).⁶² The renderings of Becket's murderers, in other words, evince a visual valorising of aristocratic accoutrements comparable to and contemporary with that of the Beaumont family itself.



Figure 7.7 Seal of Richard de Beaumont, Viscount of Maine, c. 1240 (photograph: Eugène Hucher, 'Monuments funéraires et sigillographiques des Vicomtes de Beaumont au Maine', In *Revue Historique et Archéologique du Maine*, 11 (1882), 319–408, at 358).

A postcolonial reading of the Becket lancet in light of these details proffers something more complex, ambivalent, and provocative than a penitential offering: a life of Thomas Becket that engages, manipulates, and subverts prevalent Becket iconography in ways that reify – even celebrate – the fierce loyalty of Henry II's knights, the nexus of immediate and extended genealogical and historical ties that bound the Beaumonts of Maine to the Plantagenet dynasty, and the links of family and patronage that, as late as the 1240s, sustained those auspicious connections. All four of Becket's assassins were 'knights conspicuous for their birth' and 'familiar companions to the King'.⁶³ If, by the 1230s, the Beaumonts of Maine could no longer claim comparable stature in the eyes of their former or current monarchs, the foregrounding of Henry's knights in the Angers Becket window might at least establish for posterity the family's historic prominence within the constellation of Plantagenet court life. In this way, the Angers Becket window, to quote again bell hooks, engenders a pictorial 'space of resistance', sustained in this case not only by 'remembrance of the past' but affirmation of a geographically displaced present; across the Channel, Bishop Guillaume's marginalised Angevin existence found resolution among his Beaumont relations who remained esteemed central players upon the Plantagenet stage.

A modern observer might question the efficacy and decorum of such a shame-turned-fame-by-association strategy to exalt a family's import. However, as Nicholas Vincent observed, 'Links to a king, even to a king who countenanced the murder of an archbishop, were to be prized and cultivated'.⁶⁴ That Henry's knights undertook their heinous odyssey as an act of loyalty to their Plantagenet monarch is clear in their repeated shouts of 'king's men' before and after Thomas's murder, something Henry himself acknowledged when he said that 'it was certainly "for" him, if not "by" him... that the murder was committed'.⁶⁵ The inclusion of Becket's murderers, I propose, reified Bishop Guillaume's own fealty to the king – and dynasty – in whose name that murder was committed. Guillaume's invocation of a saint venerated by his French rulers for the purpose of articulating a linkage and loyalty to their English rivals suggests the sort of understated, subversive mimicry that Homi Bhabha has dubbed 'sly civility'. A colonised subject may seemingly adopt a belief, perspective, or behaviour of her coloniser. Via her mimicry, the colonised subject appears to accept and/or submit to the coloniser's domination. That very mimicry, however, can be employed to a self-serving end benefitting the colonised at the expense of the coloniser. While the mimicry can be perceived/interpreted as an act of civility in its submission to colonial authority, its slyly self-serving appropriation may, in reality, connote an act of resistance.⁶⁶

Jeffrey Jerome Cohen offers an example of sly civility enacted upon the imperialist agenda of Henry II as recorded by the chronicler Gerald of Wales. When Henry sends a knight with a Welsh guide to chart a passage through Wales that he intends to use as his invasion route through the country, the king instructs the guide to show his knight the easiest and most pleasant path. The Welsh guide subsequently takes the knight on a harrowing journey through the most inhospitable territories and reinforces Anglo-Norman perceptions of the land's 'bestial' inhabitants by regularly devouring handfuls of grass. The knight's account of Wales's wild landscape and the barbaric behaviour of his Welsh companion persuades Henry that the occupation of the region is not worth the effort, deciding instead to release a captured Welsh noble to rule the land for him. By seeming to comply with Henry's instructions (to lead the king's knight through Wales) and to validate Anglo-Norman stereotypes of the Welsh (eating grass like an animal), the guide transforms his act of submission into one of resistance. Similarly, by including a window devoted to St. Thomas in his new cathedral choir, Bishop Guillaume seemingly accepts French understandings of the ways in which Louis VII's support of the exiled archbishop underscores the king's own piety and moral superiority over Henry II and, by extension, that of the French monarchy over its English counterpart. That superiority, by extension, explained and justified the subsequent Capetian conquest of Anglo-Norman territories. The interpretive lens of postcolonialism, however, illuminates the Angers Becket narrative not as an endorsement of French monarchic supremacy, but rather, as a slyly transgressive response to the Capetian occupation of Plantagenet terrain.⁶⁷

The life of Thomas Becket proffered a narrative scaffold upon which Bishop Guillaume could construct his own family's story of Plantagenet allegiance. Reference to the archbishop's murderers visualised the long shared history of the Beaumonts of Maine with the Plantagenets; Guillaume's inclusion of a St. Thomas Becket lancet in his cathedral choir, personalised through the display of Beaumont heraldry, comprised a devotional act paralleling those of his royal Scottish relations. In this sense the Thomas Becket window spoke simultaneously to the past, present and future of Beaumont-Plantagenet

history. By the 1230s, when the Angers choir glazing was underway, both Guillaume's brother-in-law William the Lion and his sister Ermengarde were long dead. Guillaume's nephew, Alexander II, however, ruled Scotland and had established himself as a close ally of Henry III of England. Alexander's marriage to Henry's sister Joan made the two kings brothers-in-law, and Alexander III subsequently married Henry's daughter Margaret. Alexander honoured his father's memory in his continued patronage of Thomas Becket and Arbroath Abbey, perhaps securing some of the saint's relics for the abbey during his reign.⁶⁸ Additional Scottish relations bolstered the family's veneration of St. Thomas. In one of many devotional acts performed by this branch of the Beaumont clan, Alexander II's cousin (a niece of William and Ermengarde) attended the saint's translation ceremony at Canterbury in July 1220 – an event perhaps referenced in the Angers scene typically identified as Becket's entombment but anachronistically presided over by a bishop rather than a monk (Figure 7.3).⁶⁹ Though he did not attend the translation, Alexander II undertook his own pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1223. His wife, Queen Joan, visited Canterbury in 1237. A third generation of Scottish royal devotion is attested by a letter from the abbot of Arbroath to Canterbury Cathedral documenting the abbey's annual payment of monies to Canterbury 'to enable the latter to feed thirteen poor people every Tuesday on behalf of King Alexander III in honour of St. Thomas'.⁷⁰

Ambivalence and aspiration

Bishop Guillaume may have envisioned his Thomas Becket window not just as a memorial to the Beaumont family's former prominence in the Plantagenet court, but as an assertion of continued allegiance should the English kings succeed in regaining control of their lost territories at some future time.⁷¹ Daniel Power has persuasively demonstrated that, while modern scholars accept 1204 as signalling the end of Angevin continental rule, the significance of that date as a definitive marker in the minds of the Plantagenet kings and the region's inhabitants is far less apparent. Decades following the loss of Normandy, kings John and Henry III could be found offering gifts of Norman lands and the restitution of hereditary properties confiscated by Philip Augustus to their English subjects in exchange for their support.⁷² And despite the fact that both Philip and John confiscated Anglo-Norman English and continental holdings depending upon to which monarch a family's titular head had decided to pledge allegiance, in actuality, many families found ways to retain control of lands on both sides of the Channel in the hope that the former Angevin territories would one day be reunited. Henry III urged the inhabitants of Normandy to renew their fealty to England following Philip's death in 1223. The untimely death of Philip's heir Louis VIII in 1226, which left France under the rule of a child-king and a female, foreign-born regent, offered another promising opportunity for Plantagenet reconquest. Numerous western rebellions transpired between 1224 and 1227, culminating in Henry III's continental invasion of 1230.⁷³

The myriad events that sustained hopes of reunification would surely not have been lost on Guillaume de Beaumont. Indeed, Guillaume seems to have articulated just such a hope following Philip's death, when he swore allegiance to Louis VIII 'with the proviso that if the county of Anjou was to be separated from the Crown, he would not be obligated to swear this oath to the Count'.⁷⁴ Bishop Guillaume numbered among those who had managed to retain possession of lands on both sides of the Channel

long after 1204, selling his English properties to the bishop of Winchester, Pierre des Roches, only in 1233.⁷⁵ Daniel Power has employed the extended Beaumont family as a case study of the myriad connections that fuelled such aspirations on both sides of the Channel. In 1175, bishop Guillaume's sister, Constance, wed the powerful nobleman Roger IV, lord of Tosny and Conches, whose extensive properties included multiple chateaux in Normandy and vast territories in England, to which the Tosnys relocated after Philip Augustus confiscated Roger's Norman holdings. Constance, however, remained in contact with her brothers Raoul and Guillaume and, after the death of her husband in 1208/09, returned to Maine, where she lived until her own death in 1234. Again resident in her birthplace, Constance sustained communication with her English and Scottish relations on the other side of the Channel. Power observes that until her death Constance styled herself 'dame de Conches', a reference to her husband's ancestral Norman properties, despite Philip's confiscation of those lands thirty years earlier.⁷⁶

Contact between the Beaumonts of Maine and their English and Scottish relations continued into the next generation. Roger and Constance de Tosny's daughter, Marguerite, married the count of Fife, a venerable Scottish family long numbered among the closest allies of the Scottish kings, a match surely enhanced by Marguerite's status as queen Ermengarde's niece.⁷⁷ In 1235, Raoul, viscount of Maine, gifted his niece Marguerite a parcel of land near the Beaumont ancestral chateau of Ste.-Suzanne where, the following year, Marguerite established a Carthusian priory in memory of her mother, Constance.⁷⁸ Throughout her life, Marguerite also made donations to Angers cathedral. Marguerite's brother, Richard, served as treasurer of Angers cathedral during his Uncle Guillaume's tenure as bishop. Yet another thread, this one visual, can be added to Daniel Power's meticulous tracking of this web of familial cross-Channel connections. The lancet adjacent to that of Thomas Becket in the Angers cathedral choir contains a life of John the Baptist embellished with the Tosny arms (*argent, à maunch, gules*). Karine Boulanger's conclusion that the appearance of the Tosny heraldry, repeated multiple times in the lancet's borders, signalled a donation by Anger's treasurer and Guillaume's nephew, Richard, is logical.⁷⁹ Angers cathedral's possession of a relic of John the Baptist provides a straightforward contextual explanation for the saint's inclusion in the glazing programme.

The placement of these lancets side-by-side and their shared heraldic proclamation of Beaumont-Tosny ancestry, however, suggest a further associational register of a postcolonial cast. Like Becket, John the Baptist was linked with acts of healing involving water; Simon de Tosny, a former monk at the Scottish monastery of Melrose and later bishop of Moray, had effected a miraculous cure employing the water of St. Thomas. Arbroath Abbey was built on the site of a local chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and the abbey's foundation charter established four annual fairs, two of which occurred on the feast days of Thomas Becket and John the Baptist respectively. John the Baptist was the patron saint of a hospital added to Arbroath Abbey in addition to being the patron saint of the near-by town of Perth (known during the Middle Ages as St. John's Town), which was given the status of a royal burgh by William I because of its proximity to Scone Castle, site of the Scottish kings' coronation.⁸⁰ The adjacent lancets devoted to Saints Thomas and John the Baptist proffered a visual compendium of interconnected histories, a tribute to two powerful families related by blood, one of which had severed its ties to the Plantagenet monarchy to retain its ancestral properties, the other of which had sustained its ancestral

allegiance at the cost of its ancestral lands. Thirty-five years after each had fallen victim to the vagaries of King John and the tactical acumen of King Philip, the bonds of family, history, memory – and resistance – reverberated in a resounding hagiographic and heraldic display from Bishop Guillaume's choir windows.⁸¹

Conclusion

That the hoped-for reunification of the former Plantagenet domains with England would remain an unfulfilled aspiration could not have been evident to those Angevin supporters living under French authority during the first half of the thirteenth century. In such times, a bishop descended from a prominent family long loyal to the kings of England might well have taken the opportunity to erect a visual paean and declaration of allegiance to his former monarchs in the guise of a luminous window showcasing the most high-profile 'English' saint of his time. Thomas Becket was of course equally important on both sides of the Channel, particularly in France, and thus all the more useful in his seditious potential. A postcolonial lens illuminates the Thomas Becket window simultaneously as memorial, expiatory, historical, genealogical and aspirational. As a gesture of resistance, the window served also as a manifestation of 'sly civility', a subtly subversive act of mimicry, in which Bishop Guillaume invoked a saint favoured by his French conquerors in the express hope of seeing their conquest overturned.⁸²

Thomas Becket's efficacy as a vehicle through which such a spectrum of ideas might be articulated derives in part from his own in-between-ness. A sainted defender of Church rights, Thomas Becket was also a figure of recent history, a Norman, who, in life, had flourished as Henry II's soldier, chancellor, fellow carouser and confidant, and, in death, had manifest his continued loyalty by helping to secure that king's victory over his enemies. At the same time, the protection and sustenance the embattled Archbishop Thomas received from Louis VII bolstered Capetian claims to French sacral kingship and monarchic superiority.⁸³ The saint's import to the monarchies of both England and France encouraged his invocation in both countries, even for the purpose of garnering his help in one to advance the military objectives of the other. Evidence exists that St. Thomas's intervention was overtly sought on at least one occasion in support of a political uprising.⁸⁴ In those parts of the former Plantagenet Empire which Capetians viewed as conquered French territories but which many of their inhabitants perceived as occupied Angevin lands awaiting liberation and reunification by their rightful English rulers, veneration of the martyred archbishop of Canterbury established a place of memory, of Plantagenet allegiance and thus, of opposition, a resistant site 'where authority is deformed and subverted'.⁸⁵

In his own inherent hybridity – chancellor and archbishop, worldly warrior, shrewd politician, saintly martyr, Norman and English, English and French – Thomas Becket composed a space, a historical-biographical locus, within which heterogeneous, multivalent, even contradictory, identities and loyalties might be articulated. A possible early manifestation of Thomas Becket's invocation as a resistant site – and a source of connection between the inhabitants of Angers and their Angevin monarch – may be found in the many donations made to the Angevin Hôpital St Jean (founded and enlarged by Henry II in atonement for Becket's murder) in the years immediately following the fall of Anjou and Maine in 1204.⁸⁶ For Guillaume de Beaumont, whose episcopate spanned the Angevin territories' cataclysmic displacement from centre to

margin, who devoted his life to embellishing Angers cathedral and protecting his diocese from monarchic abuse at the hands of its Capetian colonisers, Thomas Becket's quest to defend the Church from royal tyranny may have composed yet another resonant – and resistant – dimension.

Notes

- 1 Karen Eileen Overbey, 'Postcolonial', in 'Medieval Art History Today – Critical Terms', ed. Nina Rowe, special issue, *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), 145–56, at 147. In addition to Karen Overbey's insightful essay, this study draws upon the following collections: Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, ed., *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); and Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams, eds, *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). I am indebted to Catherine E. Karkov and Eva Frojmovic, who chaired a conference session (College Art Association 2010) in which I presented an early version of this study, and especially to their seminal work to promote postcolonial interventions in medieval art through their research network, 'Postcolonising the Medieval Image', at the University of Leeds. I am grateful to Madeline Caviness and Michael Cothren for their careful readings and invaluable critiques of this essay, and to Lindy Grant for sharing with me her expertise in Anglo-Norman history, genealogy, and architecture.
- 2 Madeline Harrison Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral 1175–1220* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 83–97, 146–50; and Madeline Harrison Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi: Great Britain 2 (London: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1981), 157–214.
- 3 The primary textual sources, which include the Latin lives and miracles of the saint together with Becket's letters, are collected in James Craigie Robertson and J.B. Sheppard, eds, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, Rolls Series, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1875–85). The major contemporary biographies of Becket are Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986); David Knowles, *Thomas Becket* (London: A & C Black, 1970); and, more recently, Michael Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) and Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket* (London: Arnold, 2004), both of which incorporate a significant quantity of previously untranslated primary materials. On the saint's visual legacy, see Tancred Borenius, *St. Thomas Becket in Art* (London: Methuen, 1932); The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Enamels of Limoges 1100–1350* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 14, 162–64. Fifty-two reliquaries, produced between 1180 and 1220, are known to exist; Raymonde Foreville, ed., *Thomas Becket: Actes du Colloque international de Sédieres 19–24 août 1973* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1975), contains numerous articles supplementing Borenius's compilation of Becket iconography. And see more recently, Charles T. Little, 'The Road to Glory: New Early Images of Thomas Becket's Life', in *Reading Medieval Images: the Art Historian and the Object*, ed. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 201–11. Three additional windows devoted to Becket's life survive in French cathedrals (Sens, Chartres, Coutances), all dating from the first half of the thirteenth century, and all distinctive in form and content from one to the other. See Catherine Brisac, 'Thomas Becket dans le vitrail français au début du XIII^e siècle', in *Thomas Becket: Actes du Colloque*, ed. Foreville, 221–31; Marie-Pierre Gelin, 'Heroes and Traitors: The Life of Thomas Becket in French Stained Glass', *Vidimus* 14 (2008), <http://vidimus.org/issues/issue-14/feature/> (accessed 24 November 2015); Alyce A. Jordan, 'Rhetoric and Reform: The St Thomas Becket Window of Sens Cathedral', in *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, ed. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 547–64.
- 4 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Midcolonial', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Cohen, 1–17, at 12; bell hooks, 'Marginality as a Site of Resistance', in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, ed. R. Ferguson et al. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 341–3.

- 5 Cohen, 'Introduction', 12–13.
- 6 Useful starting points for the theories and practices of resistance include Louise Amoore, *The Global Resistance Reader* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2005); David Couzens Hoy, *Critical Resistance: From Poststructuralism to Post-Critique* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2005); Stephen Duncombe, *Cultural Resistance Reader* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002).
- 7 hooks, 'Marginality as a Site of Resistance', 341–2.
- 8 Lawrence D. Kritzman, 'Foreword: In Remembrance of Things French', in *Realms of Memory: Conflicts and Divisions*, ed. Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), ix.
- 9 Overbey, 'Postcolonial', 147–53.
- 10 Seminal early applications of frontier studies to medieval history appear in Robert Bartlett and Angus Mackay, eds, *Medieval Frontier Societies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Nora Berend, 'Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier', *The Medieval History Journal* 2.1 (1999), 55–72, with extensive bibliography.
- 11 Daniel Power, 'What did the Frontier of Angevin Normandy Comprise?' *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1994, Anglo-Norman Studies* 17 (1995), 181–201, describes the south and southwest borders between Normandy and Maine as especially fluid.
- 12 On the thirteenth-century windows of Angers, see Louis Grodecki, *Les Vitraux du centre et des pays de la Loire*, Corpus Vitrearum: France, Recensement II (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981), 287–91; Jane Hayward and Louis Grodecki, 'Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers', *Bulletin Monumental* 124 (1966), 29–53; Karine Boulanger, 'Les Vitraux du chœur de la cathédrale d'Angers: commanditaires et iconographie', in *Anjou: Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology*, ed. John McNeill and Daniel Prigent (Leeds: The British Archaeological Association, 2003), 196–209; Karine Boulanger, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers*, Corpus Vitrearum: France, Recensement III (Paris: Editions du CTHS, 2010).
- 13 Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 127–8, 136–7; Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 206–7, 228–9; Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket*, 172–4, 185–6; Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 181–3, 202–3. A scene of Henry's coronation, in which the youthful prince sits frontally disposed, flanked by the archbishop of York, Roger of Pont l'Eveque, Gilbert, bishop of London, and other attending bishops, appears in *The Becket Leaves*, dated c. 1220–40. Janet Backhouse and Christopher de Hamel, *The Becket Leaves* (London: The British Library Board, 1988), 31 and fol. 3r.
- 14 Raymonde Foreville, 'Le Culte de saint Thomas Becket en France: bilan provisoire des recherches', in *Thomas Becket: Actes du Colloque international*, ed. Foreville, 168. A planned conference between Henry II and his estranged archbishop at Angers in 1166 did not occur, although Henry did meet with three of Thomas's clerks, including John of Salisbury, who had followed him into exile. Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 140–2; Staunton, *Thomas Becket*, 142–4. Henry II financed projects in Angers and Le Mans as part of his atonement for his role in Becket's murder. He did so, however, through intermediaries, such as his seneschal, Etienne de Marsay, and these penitential foundations, most notably the Hôpital Saint-Jean-l'Evangeliste in Angers and the Hôpital-Dieu de Coëffort in Le Mans, were not named in honour of St. Thomas.
- 15 Three thirteenth-century lists of relics survive for the cathedral. See Louis de Farcy, *Monographie de la cathédrale d'Angers*, vol. 1 (Angers: Privately Printed, 1901), 159–63; Boulanger, 'Les Vitraux du chœur de la cathédrale d'Angers', 202. In 1211 Bishop Guillaume de Beaumont gifted a large golden chasse filled with relics to his cathedral. Charles Urseau, 'L'Obituaire de la cathédrale d'Angers', *Mémoires de la Société nationale d'agriculture, sciences, et arts d'Angers* 7 (1931), 10–11, reprints the inventory of Guillaume's bequest.
- 16 The lowest register of the Saint Julien of Le Mans window depicts a bishop, identified by inscription as Guillaume, kneeling opposite a shield bearing the Beaumont arms charged with two croziers – a likely reference to Guillaume and his uncle, Raoul de Beaumont, who held the bishopric of Angers before him. Hayward and Grodecki, 'Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers', 9–10; Boulanger, 'Les Vitraux du chœur de la cathédrale d'Angers', 199; Boulanger, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers*, p. 36, has identified two bishops depicted at the foot of the Virgin and Child window now in the nave, but originally part of the choir programme, as another likely depiction of the two Beaumont bishops.

- 17 Seminal works for the history of the Beaumonts of Maine include Eugene Hucher, 'Monuments funéraires et sigillographiques des vicomtes de Beaumont au Maine', *Revue historique et archéologique du Maine* 11 (1882), 319–408; and Abbé Alphonse Angot, *Généalogies féodales mayennaises du XI^e au XIII^e siècle* (Laval: Imprimerie-Librairie Goupil, 1942). On the tenure of Roscelin de Beaumont, viscount of Maine c. 1145–75, who married Henry I's illegitimate daughter Constance c. 1130, see Angot, *Généalogies féodales mayennaises*, 29–31, 80–1. Textual evidence of Roscelin's activities is minimal. More evidence of Henry II's regard for, and interactions with, Roscelin's son Richard, exists. Between 1181 and 1183, Viscount Richard witnessed Henry II's charter for the Hôpital d'Angers. Richard's brother Raoul was elected bishop of Angers Cathedral in 1177. Angot, *Généalogies féodales mayennaises*, 81–2.
- 18 The best recent scholarship on the Beaumonts of Maine appears in Daniel Power's numerous studies of the frontiers of Angevin Normandy. See especially 'What did the Frontier of Angevin Normandy Comprise?' 181–201; 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. Stephen David Church (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 117–36; 'The End of Angevin Normandy: The Revolt of Alençon 1203', *Historical Research* 74 (2001), 444–64; '"Terra Regis Anglie et Terra Normannorum sibi Invicem Adversantur": Les Héritages Anglo-Normands entre 1204 et 1244', in *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Âge*, ed. Pierre Bouet and Véronique Gazeau (Caen: CRAHM, 2003), 189–209; and *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- 19 Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 18.
- 20 The Chartres Becket window makes this dynamic especially clear through the inclusion of a grimacing devil perched on Henry II's shoulder during the king's conversation with his archbishop. See http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Chartres/18_pages/Chartres_Bay18_key.htm (last accessed 21 October 2016).
For the Sens window, which begins with a scene in which Louis VII negotiates peace between Thomas and Henry, see http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Sens/23_Pages/Sens_Bay23_key.htm. Details of the Coutances windows appear at <http://cathedralecoutances.free.fr/vitraux1.htm>.
- 21 Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 152–4; Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 260–2, 269–70; Staunton, *Thomas Becket*, 215–19; Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 221–2, 254. Henry II had his son crowned king in 1170 by the archbishop of York. Following his coronation, Henry II's first-born is identified as 'the young king' to distinguish him from his father.
- 22 Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 153.
- 23 Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 341, 397, 402. King Richard I later renewed this gift.
- 24 Richard's daughter Constance married Roger IV, lord of Tosny and Conches with additional extensive holdings in England, descended of an old Norman family with ties dating back to William the Conqueror (from which his English holdings derived). This marital alliance thus brought together two families situated at strategic points of Normandy's southern and eastern borders. See Powers, *The Norman Frontier*, 487. An intriguing manifestation of this familial alliance appears in the John the Baptist window adjacent to that of Thomas Becket. See below at n. 79.
- 25 On the life of William of Scotland see, Archibald Alexander McBeth Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots 842–1292* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 98–126; and D.D.R. Owen, *William the Lion 1143–1214* (n.p.: Tuckwell Press, 1997). On Malcolm's efforts to negotiate between Henry II and Thomas Becket, see Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots*, 74; and G.W.S. Barrow, ed., *The Acts of Malcolm IV King of Scots 1153–1165* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960), 21.
- 26 Owen, *William the Lion*, 42.
- 27 G.W.S. Barrow, ed., *The Acts of William I King of Scots 1165–1214* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971), 4.
- 28 Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 153; Bartlett, *Thomas Becket*, 269–70; Staunton, *Thomas Becket*, 217–19; Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 220–1.
- 29 Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots*, 99–102; Owen, *William the Lion*, 44–56. William's constable, Richard de Moreville, was brother to one of Thomas Becket's murderers, Hugh de Moreville. The position of Scottish constable was a hereditary one and had been held by the Moreville family since at least 1150. On the genealogy of the Morevilles and their

- connections to the Scottish Crown, see G.W.S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 70–9. For further discussion of Hugh de Morville, see below at n. 35.
- 30 Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots*, 102; Owen, *William the Lion*, 72.
 - 31 Barrow, *The Acts of William I*, 250–1; Owen, *William the Lion*, 60.
 - 32 Owen, *William the Lion*, 63. William and Henry travelled to Canterbury together in the summer of 1181, on their return to Britain from Normandy. Richard's recession of the Falaise Treaty came to be known as the Quitclaim of Canterbury. On the 1189 Quitclaim charter, which rescinded all of the punitive terms of the Treaty of Falaise, see Owen, *William the Lion*, 78–9; Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots*, 105, n. 28. Michael Penman, 'The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury, c. 1178–c. 1404', *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 348–50, notes that William's most extravagant patronage of Arbroath occurred after 1189.
 - 33 Robert Laird Mackie et al., *Arbroath Abbey* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1982); David Perry, 'A New Look at Old Arbroath', *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal* 4 (1998), 260–78; Richard Fawcett, 'Arbroath Abbey: A Note on its Architecture and Early Conservation History', in *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting*, ed. Geoffrey Barrow (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), 50–85; Richard Fawcett, *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 72–9. On the sustained popularity of Arbroath as a pilgrimage site, and the traffic of Scottish pilgrims to Canterbury, see Penman, 'The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury', 346–70. Keith Stringer explores Arbroath's centrality in the political history of Scotland and as a vehicle for the construction of William's monarchy in 'Arbroath Abbey in Context, 1178–1320', in *The Declaration of Arbroath*, ed. Barrow, 116–41.
 - 34 Boulanger, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers*, 401.
 - 35 Nicholas Vincent, 'The Murderers of Thomas Becket', in *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter/ Murder of Bishops*, ed. Natalie Fryde and Dirk Reitz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 223–8. On the longstanding connections between William and the Morevilles, see Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History*, 70–84. Another of Becket's murderers, Robert fitz Urse, witnessed an Act of William the Lion early in the latter's reign. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History*, 78–9.
 - 36 Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 30–49; Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 115–16; Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 16–32.
 - 37 Anne Duggan, 'The Cult of St. Thomas Becket in the Thirteenth Century', in *St. Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford*, ed. Meryl Jancey (Hereford: Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1982), 21–44, at 23, n. 8, 40, n. 105; Kay Brainerd Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 247–53.
 - 38 Duggan, 'The Cult of St. Thomas Becket', 23, n. 7. Stringer, 'Arbroath Abbey in Context', 116, observes that the *Regressio* constituted a rare liturgical festival celebrated only at Canterbury and Arbroath.
 - 39 The 'Water of Thomas Becket', a drop of water mixed with the saint's blood, constituted the archbishop's primary relic and proved exceptionally effective as a healing agent. Long before his canonisation, the curative powers of 'St. Thomas's water' drew hundreds of pilgrims to Canterbury, whose monks quickly undertook an accounting of the archbishop's miraculous healings, the copiousness of which surely facilitated his speedy canonisation. The role of water in the saint's life, and the import of the saint's own 'water' to the popularity of his cult, can be linked with the import of his final voyages across the Channel, to his particular ability to protect or intercede on behalf of those whom water has endangered (or killed), and to the profusion of watery metaphors that pervade his liturgies. For Becket's miracles, see Benedict of Peterborough, in Robertson and Sheppard, eds, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, vol. 2, 21–279; and William of Canterbury, in Robertson and Sheppard, eds, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, vol. 1, 155–545. On the liturgies devoted to St. Thomas, see Sherry Reames, 'Liturgical Offices for the Cult of St. Thomas Becket', in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Garland, 2000), 561–93; Sherry L. Reames, 'Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket', *Speculum* 80 (2005), 118–70; Kay Brainerd

- Slocum, 'Optimus Egrorum Medicus Fit Thomas Bonorum: Images of Saint Thomas as Healer', *Sewanee Mediaeval Studies* 10 (2000), 173–80; Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket*; Alyce A. Jordan, 'The "Water of Thomas Becket": Water as Medium, Metaphor and Relic', in *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance*, ed. Cynthia Kosso and Anne Scott (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 479–500, at 485–8. On Becket *ampullae*, see Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 7 (London: Boydell Press, 1998), 37–133; Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue Part 2 (Salisbury: Salisbury Museum, 1990), 16–24.
- 40 See above, n. 20, for details of the Sens, Chartres, and Coutances windows. St. Thomas also appears on horseback in *The Becket Leaves*, fol. 2v.
- 41 Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 139–41; Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 235–8; Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 208–9.
- 42 Overbey, 'Postcolonial', 149, 152–3.
- 43 On the internecine battles between John and his brother Arthur following the death of Richard the Lionheart, and John's escalating conflicts with Philip Augustus leading up to the desertion of Count Robert d'Alençon, Juhel de Mayenne, and Viscount Raoul de Beaumont in 1202–03, see Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 432–40; and Power, 'The End of Angevin Normandy'.
- 44 Angot, *Généalogies féodales mayennaises*, 41, 91. Angot twice quotes Guillaume's 1209 exhortation to Raoul to honour Richard's bequest, 'si vestram vultis nobilitatem et honorem ab infamia evitare'.
- 45 Raoul pledged fealty to Philip in 1210 and led a contingent of men on the side of Philip Augustus in the battle of Bouvines. He swore homage to Philip again in 1216 and exhorted the chatelains of his chateaux to do the same. In 1216 Raoul participated in Prince Louis's invasion of England. Philip, for his part, appears to have rewarded Raoul for his loyalty by allowing him to retain control of Bourg-le-Roi, which his father, Richard, held from Henry II and Richard I. The French king subsequently made Raoul lord of La Flèche, which Power notes had been 'a comital castle since the end of the eleventh century'. Angot, *Généalogies féodales mayennaises*, 89, 91–3; Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 443.
- 46 In 1230, a substantial quantity of building materials amassed to complete the choir was confiscated by the French crown for the building of a new chateau and fortification wall. The chateau's construction necessitated the destruction of numerous churches, chaplaincies, and vineyards, as well as lay and ecclesiastical residences belonging to the cathedral of Saint-Maurice and other diocesan sites. Guillaume undertook demands for reparations for the buildings destroyed and materials confiscated. His 1232 letter to the French court states that Louis's officers confiscated 'lapides et calcem et multam aliam materiam ad opus fabrice nostre ecclesie preparatem' and estimated the value of these in excess of 1500 pounds. Alexander Teulet et al., eds, *Layettes du trésor des chartes* (Paris: Henri Plon, 1863–1909), II, no. 2200. Thanks to Guillaume's efforts, the affected individuals and churches received at least a dozen indemnities from the crown 'pro damnis et deperditis, quae ob clausuram fortalitiae Andegavensis passus est'. *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, II, nos. 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220; *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, IV, nos. 4741, 4792.
- 47 The conundrum of conflicted loyalties that faced the noble families of the Angevin Empire during and after John's loss of Normandy and the western territories emerges as a recurrent theme in Daniel Power's studies of this period. See, for example, Power, 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy', 127–33.
- 48 Angot, *Généalogies féodales mayennaises*, 83–8, records numerous instances of Viscount Richard, his brother Bishop Raoul, and his son, Raoul, the future viscount, witnessing Acts of Henry II, Richard I, and John. In one such document, Henry II describes Bishop Raoul as 'dilectum cognatum nostrum'.
- 49 Angot, *Généalogies féodales mayennaises*, 47, describes the string of Beaumont castles running in a longitudinal orientation northeast to southwest over a distance of 70 kilometres as 'the most complete system of defence' between Maine and Normandy.
- 50 For a concise, cogent history of the rise and fall of the Plantagenet continental territories, see John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 2nd edition (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

- 51 Cohen, 'Midcolonial', 2.
- 52 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Cohen, 85–104, at 85.
- 53 Richard D. Oram, *Domination and Lordship: Scotland 1070–1230* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2011), 174–5, describes Ermengarde as having 'mediated' the 1212 meeting between William and John. A similar description of Ermengarde's role appears in A.A.M. Duncan, 'John King of England and the Kings of Scots', in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. Stephen David Church (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 247–72, at 263–5, though with the caveat that Ermengarde's role might have been limited to that of translating between French and Early Scots. In May 1212, Ermengarde presided over a special court comprising the *curia regis* and numerous Scottish bishops; see Barrow, *The Acts of William I*, 58.
- 54 Boulanger, 'Les Vitraux du chœur de la cathédrale d'Angers', 200–02 Boulanger, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers*, 390.
- 55 Penman, 'The Bruce Dynasty, Becket, and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury', 354–7. Robert I (Robert Bruce), king of Scotland from 1306 to 1329, lavishly patronised Arbroath during his reign, and was most likely responsible for the impressive early fourteenth-century tomb sculpture of William the Lion excavated from the abbey ruins in 1816. G.S. Gimson, 'Lion Hunt: a Royal Tomb-Effigy at Arbroath Abbey', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 125 (1995), 901–16.
- 56 Stringer, 'Arbroath Abbey in Context', 117; Penman, 'The Bruce Dynasty, Becket, and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury', 349–50. Penman cites thirteen Scots cured through St. Thomas's intervention.
- 57 Vincent, 'The Murderers of Thomas Becket', 232–8, 242; Angot, *Généalogies féodales mayennaises*, p. 94. The abbey of St.-Pierre de la Couture in Le Mans numbers among the institutions patronised by both William de Tracy and the Beaumonts.
- 58 Having positioned himself at the door to the cathedral to deter entrance of the crowd of people attempting to get inside, Hugh was the only knight not to strike the archbishop, although one of his men, Hugh de Horsea, brutally distinguished himself by stamping on the slain archbishop's neck and scattering his brains across the cathedral's paving stones. Vincent, 'The Murderers of Thomas Becket', 226; Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 148; Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 247; Staunton, *Thomas Becket*, 203; Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, 212.
- 59 Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 226. A telling demonstration of the longevity of guilt-by-association appears in the Lanercost Chronicle's account of the defeat of John Balliol, who had claimed the Crown of Scotland following Margaret of Norway's death, by Edward III. The chronicler observed that Balliol's July 1296 surrender 'by divine ordinance...[was] accomplished on the morrow of the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, in retribution for the crime of Hugh de Moreville, from whom that witless creature [Balliol] was descended'. *Chronicon de Lanercost* (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1839), 179, quoted in Penman, 'The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury', 353.
- 60 Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, 1998, 37–133; 16–24; Jordan, 'Water of Thomas Becket', 489–95.
- 61 The Becket windows of Sens and Chartres both celebrate Louis VII in overt ways. Louis VII's role in protecting the archbishop is recounted in the third lesson of the rhymed office *Studens livor*, which was widely adopted throughout the continent to celebrate St. Thomas's feast day: 'Louis, the most Christian king of the French, received him [Archbishop Thomas] with the greatest honour when he was driven from Pontigny, and he sustained him most kindly until peace was restored'. Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket*, 215. That Louis VII's care for Becket continued to inform the Capetian narrative of monarchic piety is evinced by St. Thomas's inclusion among the martyrs decorating the dado of Louis IX's famous Parisian palace chapel, the Sainte-Chapelle. Robert Branner, 'The Painted Medallions in the Sainte-Chapelle', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. 58 (1968), 5–41; and Emily Davenport Guerry, 'The Wall Paintings of the Sainte-Chapelle', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2013.
- 62 Hucher, 'Monuments funéraires et sigillographiques des vicomtes de Beaumont au Maine', 357–8, with images.

- 63 Vincent, 'The Murderers of Thomas Becket', 214, quoting the descriptions of Gervase of Canterbury and Edward Grimm.
- 64 Vincent, 'The Murderers of Thomas Becket', 215, emphasises this point in his description of Henry II's arrival in Canterbury to do penance at Becket's tomb in July 1174, where the king 'had forcefully to remind them [the Canterbury prior and monks who met him] that he had come as a penitent pilgrim to be scourged; not as an honoured guest to be received in procession'.
- 65 Vincent, 'The Murderers of Thomas Becket', 243–5, quoting Herbert of Bosham.
- 66 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 132–44. Bhabha adopts the term 'sly civility' (140–41) from Archdeacon Potts, who employs it in an 1818 sermon in which he describes the verbal manoeuvres adopted by India's indigenous inhabitants to sidestep colonial English strategies to convert them to Christianity; Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 148–50, provides a cogent analysis of Bhabha's interpretation of such ambivalent mimicry within a larger historiographic context of postcolonial discourse.
- 67 Cohen, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands', 86–7. Overbey, 'Postcolonial', 153, underscores the ability of postcolonial analyses to reveal 'more possibilities, more heterogeneity, and a medieval viewer whose subjectivity is not solely or wholly determined by his religious identity'. The way in which Louis VII's support of Archbishop Thomas augmented his own reputation is discussed above at n. 61.
- 68 Stringer, 'Arbroath Abbey in Context', 125; Penman, 'The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury', 356, n. 54.
- 69 Penman, 'The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury', 351. Alexander II's cousin and her husband Lord Robert Bruce made a grant 'of one Scottish merk per annum in perpetuity for themselves and their heirs to "St. Thomas, Martyr"'. Thomas Becket's spectacular 1220 *translatio* was orchestrated, and presided over, by Canterbury archbishop Stephen Langton.
- 70 Stringer, 'Arbroath Abbey in Context', 121; G.W.S. Barrow, 'A Scottish Collection at Canterbury', *The Scottish Historical Review* 31 (1952), 16–28. Barrow traces a continuous connection between Canterbury and the Scottish royalty from the early twelfth century through the reign of Alexander III.
- 71 Daniel Power, 'The Norman Church and the Angevin and Capetian Kings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56 (2005), 205–34, effectively challenges the 'historiographical tradition', due in part to the murder of Thomas Becket, 'that not only depicts the Plantagenet dukes as oppressors of the Norman Church, but also suggests that they alienated the higher clergy to the point where they preferred to be ruled by Philip Augustus'. Power argues that most Norman church support was in fact local, and that there is minimal evidence that the Norman church would have found Capetian rule preferable to that of the Plantagenets.
- 72 Power, 'Terra Regis Anglie et terra Normannorum', 193–4.
- 73 Power, 'Terra Regis Anglie et terra Normannorum', 189–99. Henry III had hoped particularly for the succession of the Norman dioceses of Coutances and Avranches, which would have provided a corridor to enable his penetration into the southern domains of Maine, Anjou, Poitou, and Touraine.
- 74 Angot, *Généalogies féodales mayennaises*, 95: 'sous la réserve que si le comté d'Anjou était séparé de la couronne, il ne serait pas tenu de faire ce serment au comte'. I have wondered if Viscount Raoul's renewal the same year of a gift to La Flèche by Richard I might have stemmed from a similar sentiment.
- 75 Power, 'Terra Regis Anglie et terra Normannorum', 202, n. 65. I suspect Guillaume's long delayed sale of his English properties at this time was prompted by the need for additional revenue to continue construction of Angers cathedral and to replace the building materials confiscated by Louis IX. See above, n. 46.
- 76 Power, 'Terra Regis Anglie et terra Normannorum', 200.
- 77 Power, 'Terra Regis Anglie et terra Normannorum', 200–02. The centrality of the Fife dynasty in Scottish royal politics is evinced by the inclusion of the family arms adjacent to those of the Scottish king on a seal believed to have been used during the reign of Alexander III. The Earl of Fife is one of two figures flanking the seated king at his coronation. Gimson, 'Lion Hunt: a Royal Tomb-Effigy at Arbroath Abbey', 913.

- 78 As Constance had done with her own donations, Marguerite's gift in memory of her mother, and related acts witnessing Marguerite's donation, consistently identify Constance as 'dame de Conches'. Angot, *Généalogies féodales mayennaises*, 97–9.
- 79 Boulanger, 'Les Vitraux du chœur de la cathédrale d'Angers', 199 Boulanger, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers*, 36–7, 122.
- 80 Perry, 'A New Look at Old Arbroath', 269–70; Penman, 'The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury', 356, 360.
- 81 Powers, *The Norman Frontier*, 226–7, observed that 'Memories within a lineage could be long, particularly where claims to land were concerned...and...could be perpetuated and proclaimed publicly through heraldry'. While the Beaumont arms appear four times in the Becket window, the Tosny arms appear no less than nine times in that of John the Baptist. Karen Boulanger, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers*, 40, figs 269–70, identifies and accounts for the addition of Chaumont family heraldry (repeated five times) in the Jean the Baptist window as evidence the Chaumonts financed an early fourteenth-century restoration of the lancet. Might the Chaumonts, a Norman family with hereditary connections to both the Beaumonts and Tosnys, have recognised the particular import of these windows to their Anglo-Norman ancestors?
- 82 The postcolonial concept of 'sly civility' is discussed above at, nn. 66–67. The subtlety of Guillaume's gesture is attested by the scholars who have identified the four 'French' Becket windows as consistent in their condemnation of Henry II and, by extension, their valorising of the Capetian monarchy. Brisac, 'Thomas Becket dans le vitrail français', 230–1; Boulanger, 'Les Vitraux du chœur de la cathédrale d'Angers', 200; Boulanger, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers*, 119, 122–3, 160, 401–02.
- 83 See above at n. 61.
- 84 Duggan, 'The Cult of St. Thomas Becket', 32, details the 'surprising' association of Becket patronage with baronial conspiracy evinced in a hymn to the saint '[invoking] his aid for the earl of Leicester and the Young King in his 1173–74 rebellion against Henry II'.
- 85 Cohen, 'Introduction', 12–13 and above, at n. 4.
- 86 Angot, *Généalogies féodales mayennaises*, 82, 89–90, 94. The concept of Thomas Becket as a resistant site is the topic of an essay in progress, provisionally titled 'Remembering Thomas Becket in Normandy'.

8 Defining a merchant identity and aesthetic in Pisa

Muslim ceramics as commodities, mementos, and architectural decoration on eleventh-century churches

Karen Rose Mathews

Introduction

Ceramic bowls (*bacini*) from the Islamic world form a distinctive type of decoration on the eleventh-century churches of Pisa, with hundreds of examples applied to the exteriors of religious structures. Though this use of Muslim pottery later came to be quite widespread around the Mediterranean, Pisan edifices were the earliest to use this type of decoration and the city possesses the highest concentration of *bacini* anywhere in the Mediterranean basin. Scholars have most often argued that *bacini* carry a triumphalist meaning as plunder from military campaigns used to symbolise victory over Islam.¹ I will propose here that *bacini* had more complex associations for Pisan patrons and audiences, and that they served as a manifestation of a ‘merchant aesthetic’ that embodied Pisan political, economic, and cultural achievements and ambitions. Mercantile activities were the source of Pisa’s wealth and fame in the Middle Ages, and Pisans could particularly appreciate the quality of *bacini* as commodities. *Bacini* served as objects of trade from Muslim lands until they were decommo-ditised to adorn church structures. The interplay between these two disparate uses and contexts would have had particular resonance for the commercial-minded Pisans. The ready availability of Islamic ceramics, their beauty, and foreign provenance made them the ideal vehicle to display the cultural sophistication of the Pisans and their central role in western Mediterranean trade networks. As they were decommo-ditised, they entered into a border zone between the culture in which they had been created and that in which they served as ornament. Their meaning was destabilised, since their ‘original’ meaning and function as commodities of exchange (including exchange of culture and knowledge) could never be completely erased.

The relationship with the Islamic world indexed by the imported *bacini* was essential in the formation of a unique civic identity for Pisa as the inhabitants of the Tuscan city constructed an ambivalent image of Islamic lands as military adversaries, commercial partners, and cultural role models in a competitive Mediterranean environment, an image that allowed for both coexistence and conflict. The *bacini* were thus ambivalent objects in an imagined geography, but one built on ‘pathways of portability’ (Eva Hoffman), i.e. simultaneously on distance and on connections. Studies of commodities and consumption in a cross-cultural and postcolonial context are directly relevant if we are to interpret the Pisan *bacini* in a postcolonial key.²

The use of commodities as architectural ornament points to the interconnectedness of the economics of transmediterranean trade between Muslim and Christian polities and civic culture in eleventh-century Pisa. These two arenas – economics and culture – have often been addressed as antithetical, as market forces aim to expand the world of commodities, while culture seeks to restrict it through concepts of discrimination.³ In medieval Italian city states, however, we arguably find a different dynamic between spaces of commodity exchange and spaces of culture. In medieval Amalfi or Venice, for example, economic prosperity based on mercantile endeavours served as the catalyst for distinctive visual cultures, where imported objects associated with foreign markets served to shape and define the visual culture of these two cities.⁴ This approach can be applied to Pisa, assessing the Tuscan city as a consuming society and studying the ways in which economic stimuli encouraged consumption, even conspicuous consumption, on the part of the Pisan elite.

The nexus between consumption and art patronage has been the subject of several studies on early modern Europe, and particularly the mercantile culture of Italy.⁵ Even as early as the late Middle Ages, so Richard Goldthwaite argues, the expanding world of goods, both local and foreign, spurred consumption and created a culture of competition that encouraged conspicuous displays of wealth.⁶ Consumption, then, can be characterised as ‘an important arena of agentive social action, symbolic discourse, and cultural transformation’, that also had the power to construct culture.⁷ Objects can make cultural processes concrete, visible, and material, and these physical manifestations of culture in turn serve to define social relationships and construct identities. The consumption culture of medieval Italy was open to foreign markets and goods, and consumption therefore expanded culture as imported objects were integrated into local monuments, styles, and forms. If, as Michael Dietler suggests, cross-cultural consumption can be understood as ‘a continual process of selective appropriation and creative assimilation according to local logics that is also a way of continually constructing and reconstructing culture’, then merchants played an essential role in this process.⁸ They articulated supply and demand for new goods, and were instrumental in defining the visual culture of their cities. Through their pious donations of commodities, they also contributed to their transformative appropriation.⁹

Civic monuments were erected whose aesthetic of colour and lustre was significantly enhanced by the integration of imported Muslim ceramics into their facades. At the time of their incorporation, these ceramics represented a highly desirable world of durable splendour, since these bowls, executed in a technique not yet developed in European ceramic production, were not ordinary kitchenware, but fine vessels gracing the banquets of the upper classes. Their incorporation into ecclesiastical architecture reinforced their high status within Pisan culture, and spoke of the success of Pisan military and mercantile endeavours in the Mediterranean. The inclusion of these ceramics on church facades elevated, or at least advertised, their high exchange value; by integrating them into pious bequests, this process decommo- diti- sed and singularised them, i.e. declared them to be something more valuable than commodities – it declared them to be of aesthetic value. This language of an exotic commodity aesthetic, it is claimed here, created an ambivalent language in which fantasies of domination over Muslim polities and a desire for Muslim artefacts held each other in balance in the construction of a specifically Pisan civic identity and aesthetic.

If medieval Pisa can be characterised as a consumer society, then *bacini* could play a central role in defining a mercantile culture in their role as commodities. As objects

in motion traveling from Islamic markets to Western Europe, these ceramics were at their origin simply commercial goods. Upon their arrival in Pisa, however, their status and life story became more complex.¹⁰ Some remained commodities, albeit highly prized commodities, bought and sold in the open market to serve as elite tableware, while others were removed from commercial circulation. Commodity status, then, was not a state as much as it was a process, or even a system of social relations. Objects in motion like *bacini* were subject to a number of classifications and reclassifications, uses and recontextualisations, as they travelled over distances both conceptual and physical. Their very durability in essence contributed to their long and complicated biography.¹¹ Ceramic bowls became singularised when they moved from the commercial realm to that of architectural decoration – they became unique, ‘priceless’ artefacts. They could be classified as diverted or terminal commodities in that their new function placed them permanently outside the mercantile realm.¹² The diversion of a commodity dramatically changed its function, and, in the case of *bacini*, significantly elevated their status.¹³ Their placement on Pisa’s churches arrested their commodity stage, restricting their circulation and intensifying their symbolic force. Diverted commodities, however, are paradoxical in that they maintain their commodity status and commercial value even though they no longer circulate in the marketplace. The permanent display of *bacini* on church exteriors advertised their value, further enhancing their symbolic worth, while possibly confirming if not elevating the exchange value of similar bowls that remained in the commercial sphere of exchange.¹⁴

The distant origin of *bacini* also played a significant role in their interpretations and understandings by Pisan audiences. *Bacini* originated from Muslim territories along the Mediterranean, places that were unknown to most Western Europeans. As such, the long-distance travel of these objects from one cultural and economic context was a significant phase in their biography. ‘Things in motion’ or ‘objects on the loose’ are notoriously difficult to control, and once removed from their original context, they enter into a liminal or border zone between cultures, becoming socially and culturally placeless, before they reach their final destination.¹⁵ This movement and the concomitant destabilisation of meaning in the objects opens them up to a variety of new contextualisations. In his study of commodities and consumption, Appadurai has noted that the gap between the worlds that produce and consume a commodity had lasting effects on a commodity’s status.¹⁶ When the physical and conceptual distance was large, there was greater potential for profit, but also the possibility for creating mythologies around that object. They could accrue power through their exoticism of origin and difficulty of acquisition, as well as associations with luxury, wealth, good taste, and foreign travel.¹⁷ The process of garnering new significations for an object in a different cultural context, alternately identified as appropriation, naturalisation, mutation, or reinterpretation, did not completely erase the traces of the original function and provenance of the object; indeed, the original and secondary contexts of an object were completely entwined or entangled, and the complex life story of a commodity only added to its value.¹⁸ Objects like *bacini* were purchased privately as commodities and recontextualised as communal or public architectural decoration because they were socially and culturally meaningful for Pisan audiences, communicating the city’s accomplishments and ambitions locally and beyond.

Ultimately, commercial goods and the transactions that exchange them at once reflect and constitute social relations, as these goods only accrued, shed, and accumulated new meanings through human agency.¹⁹ Earlier scholarship has tended to downplay the social relationships inherent in commodity exchange, with commodities as the polar opposite of the socially-constructed gift or non-commodified artwork. Following this approach, objectification characterises a commodity economy while personification predominates in gift exchange. As Gregory has outlined in his work on gifts and commodities, commodity exchange is 'an exchange of alienable things between transactors who are in a state of reciprocal independence' while non-commodity (gift) exchange is 'an exchange of inalienable things between transactors who are in a state of reciprocal dependence'.²⁰ Objects, then, could only be socially or economically meaningful, but never the two simultaneously. More recently, however, the gift/commodity dichotomy has broken down as scholars note that objects cannot be separated from the people who exchange them, and that any type of exchange, gift or sale, is an index of social relations.²¹ The circulation of objects in motion can construct, solidify, or undermine identities, making social processes concrete, material, and visible.²² The prominent display of socially meaningful objects could play an important role in defining competing identities and differentiating between rival social groups.²³ The merchant mentality in eleventh-century Pisa thus forged an aesthetic that expanded into an important manifestation of a Christian civic identity, using the prominent public display of luxury commodities from the Islamic world to define Pisa's role in the competitive economic and volatile political environment of the medieval Mediterranean.

In this context, some studies of the discourse of Orientalism may be applicable to the Pisan military campaigns of the eleventh century. Said's understanding of East/West relations emphasised the justification of Western domination of the East through the West's construction of the Orient, one that postulated its difference or otherness.²⁴ East and West, then, were constructed as diametrically-opposed binaries in terms of culture and values, a juxtaposition of the familiar and the strange where the foreign and exotic were deemed inferior. In the political realm, then, it was essential to characterise Islam as a hostile other, with religious difference justifying the aggression of Pisan warriors in the eleventh century. On the other hand, and as part of the same discursive formation, the 'Orient' was also the subject of Western desire, a desire that simultaneously prized 'Eastern' commodities while denigrating its makers in gendered terms and as childlike and un-modern. One aspect of an Orientalist construct that does not correlate well with Christian/Muslim relations in the eleventh century is the characterisation of an imperialistic and powerful West dominating and colonising a weak and vulnerable East. In fact, power relations were configured very differently, as the Mediterranean was known as a 'Muslim sea' or the 'sea of the caliphs' in the Middle Ages.²⁵ It is in addressing the concept of the West constructing the East as a foil for itself, using the East to define the West, that Orientalist notions can effectively characterise Pisan attitudes towards the Muslims they encountered in the Mediterranean.²⁶ Said has suggested that 'imaginative geography and history help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away'.²⁷ In other words, Pisan attitudes towards their Muslim neighbours are part of an imaginary geography and an imaginary knowledge that constructed a place for Pisa within shifting set of power relations around the Mediterranean.

Pisan eleventh-century churches ornamented with *bacini*

In a previous essay, I laid out the groundwork for the study of the Pisan *bacini*, addressing their provenance, techniques of manufacture, and the reasons why Islamic ceramics were so central to a Pisan architectural aesthetic. In the present essay, my main concern is to anchor the aesthetic agency of eleventh-century merchants in the commodities they turned into artefacts.²⁸ Six churches in Pisa and its port, ranging from 1027 to the late eleventh century, integrated *bacini* produced in Muslim countries into their exteriors. Photographs from three of these churches are reproduced in the following pages (Figures 8.1–8.9).²⁹ The sheer quantity of imported ceramics on Pisan church exteriors has led to their exhaustive study, and scholars had the opportunity to conduct detailed analyses of the *bacini* themselves when they were removed and replaced with replicas. The secure dating of the buildings on which the *bacini* are placed has been used to date the ceramics as well, as it is generally believed that the *bacini* were applied when the churches were originally built.³⁰ This large body of precisely dated visual evidence, both architectural and ceramic, is unparalleled for the central Middle Ages, and provides the ideal conditions for an in-depth study of the relationship between merchant mentalities and artistic production. The large number of eleventh-century churches of Pisa, including a monumental cathedral structure, attests to the wealth of Pisa in the eleventh century. Pisan ecclesiastical foundations were also extraordinary in the level of lay involvement and the public nature of the churches.³¹ They played important civic roles in the city as the sites for political and judicial assemblies and were adorned with mementoes from the city's successful military campaigns.³² The early use of *bacini* decoration on these Pisan churches also distinguishes the city from other urban centres in Europe, and Muslim ceramics constituted the most prevalent and distinctive form of decoration on Pisa's eleventh-century religious edifices.³³ The basins originated from an impressive array of Mediterranean locations – Sicily,



Figure 8.1 Pisa, church of San Piero a Grado, exterior view (photograph: author).



Figure 8.2 Pisa, church of San Piero a Grado, exterior view, detail of *bacini* decoration (photograph: author).



Figure 8.3 Pisa, church of San Sisto, exterior view (photograph: author).



Figure 8.4 Pisa, church of San Sisto, exterior view, detail of *bacini* decoration (photograph: author).

Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, Al-Andalus – all territories under Muslim control, and display a number of different techniques and glazes (Figures 8.6–8.9). Though most of the *bacini* were not classified as luxury ceramics in their places of origin, in Western Europe they were exceptional objects. The medieval Pisans who wished to use glazed ceramics as tableware and as architectural decoration had to import them from the Islamic world.

The *bacini* on Pisan churches also display a wide variety of decorative forms, though geometric and vegetal forms predominate (Figures 8.8 and 8.9).³⁴ More rarely the ceramics feature representations of humans and animals (Figure 8.7). Arabic writing can be found on a number of pieces, though the script is generally illegible.³⁵ Frequently, the geometric and vegetal motifs on the Pisan *bacini* appear to have been applied with little attention to detail; in some cases the forms are rudimentary or blurred by the running of glazes. *Bacini* were generally placed high up on the walls of Pisan churches, and questions of quality may have been secondary (Figures 8.1–8.5). A further indication that the decorative motifs were not particularly significant can be seen in the number of texts or figures that were displayed upside down or sideways. It appears unlikely, then, that viewers were meant to appreciate the decorative motifs, but they could certainly perceive the colour and sheen of the ceramics that contrasted with the brick and stone walls of the churches.³⁶

Archaeological finds correspond closely with the *bacini* evidence in terms of ceramic types, though the objects used as architectural decoration are more numerous and in better condition. Excavations have unearthed Islamic pottery in domestic contexts at stratigraphic levels that correspond to the earliest use of *bacini* decoration; thus, imported wares from the Islamic world were used as tableware at the same time as they decorated Pisa's most important churches.³⁷ Whether they were viewing the



Figure 8.5 Pisa, church of San Zeno, exterior view (photograph: author).

bacini as household objects or church decoration, it is certain that the inhabitants of Pisa would have understood that these ceramics were imports from the Islamic world. Thus, already by the eleventh-century Pisa's churches featured extensive *bacini* ornamentation, creating a distinctive style of architectural decoration. The time period of the earliest *bacini* use corresponded to Pisa's entry into the lucrative markets of the medieval Mediterranean as Pisan ships undertook military operations and negotiated peaceful trade agreements. There appears, then, to be a close historical connection between the importation of *bacini*, their use as architectural decoration, and the participation of the city's merchants in Mediterranean trade. The enhanced role of trade



Figure 8.6 Pisa, San Piero a Grado, bacino from Majorca (photograph: Graziella Berti and Marcella Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate*).

in Pisa at this time contributed to the formation of a distinct merchant culture and a mentality that in turn influenced artistic production.

Merchant culture and a merchant mentality in Pisa

In order to identify a distinct merchant mentality that encompassed a specific approach to the viewing and understanding of artworks and connect it to the use of *bacini* as architectural decoration in Pisa, it is essential to characterise merchant culture, that is, what differentiated merchants from other groups in medieval society.³⁸ Merchants emerged as a distinct social group gradually throughout the Middle Ages. The early entry of Pisan merchants into the Mediterranean trade network in the eleventh century makes it difficult to identify specific merchant families and their origins, as documentation is scarce. It is believed that the Pisan mercantile expansion received its impetus from the city's ruling class, which included rural aristocracy and the beginnings of what might be called a consular aristocracy.³⁹ Thus a connection between mercantile ventures and aristocracy developed early in the Middle Ages in Pisa, a relationship that was also significant in the commercially-oriented cities of Genoa, Amalfi, and



Figure 8.7 Pisa, San Sisto, lusterware bacino from Egypt (photograph: Graziella Berti and Marcella Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate*).

Venice.⁴⁰ Noble families engaged in trade themselves or financed mercantile activities. Conversely, merchants who became wealthy strove to become aristocrats, buying noble titles or having them bestowed upon them by monarchs and princes in order to augment their social legitimacy. The aristocratic association with military prowess also proved an advantage as merchants doubled as warriors on the Mediterranean where the danger of piracy was high.⁴¹ In general, the line between legitimate trade and piracy was a fine one and merchant warriors played both roles; the plunder taken in a pirate raid could serve as seed money for subsequent commercial ventures.⁴² Piracy was just one of the activities that contributed to the moral taint on merchant endeavours. Though in the Islamic world merchants were held in high esteem, in Christian society, trading for profit contradicted the ideal of apostolic poverty.⁴³ Other practices, such as charging interest on loans, or usury, became more excessive over time, even though the Church condemned such actions. In conjunction with concepts of crusade, the Church prohibited trade with Muslims on the grounds that this amounted to abetting the enemy.⁴⁴ Such a prohibition was impossible to enforce, and the Italian maritime republics continued to pursue commerce with Muslim countries in complete disregard of papal sanctions. The Church frequently threatened Venetian and Amalfitan leaders with excommunication as they flouted the papal ban, and Pisan merchants sold wood and iron to Muslim countries to be used for war machines and ships destined for naval warfare against Christian armies.⁴⁵

Another aspect of merchant culture that distinguished traders from other social groups was their education. Merchants in general were highly educated by medieval



Figure 8.8 Pisa, San Sisto, bacino from Tunisia or Sicily (photograph: Graziella Berti and Marcella Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate*).



Figure 8.9 Pisa, San Zeno, bacino from Spain (photograph: author).

standards; they could read and write as these skills were essential for maintaining records of their business affairs.⁴⁶ The earliest documented merchant's manual, the *Memoria de tucte le mercantie*, originated in Pisa, and is dated to 1278. It includes a chronicle of the city of Pisa, which begins with the foundation of the cathedral in 1063. Civic pride plays a central role in the content which makes its Pisan provenance unmistakable.⁴⁷ The standard content of weights and measures, itineraries and commodities is complemented by an enumeration of Pisa's most glorious victories over Mediterranean adversaries, Muslim and Christian alike. Above and beyond general literacy, merchants had advanced skills in mathematics. They knew how to perform calculations to determine compound interest, to gauge volumes, assess proportions and ratios between currencies, and judge distances between ports of call.⁴⁸ In the early Middle Ages, this knowledge would have been acquired in an ad-hoc manner, through experience more than formal education. By the early thirteenth century, however, the groundbreaking scholarly work of the Pisan Leonardo Fibonacci led to the establishment of a type of merchant-oriented school, the *abaco* school, named after Fibonacci's treatise, the *Liber Abaci* (1202).⁴⁹ Fibonacci was the son of a merchant who worked in the Pisan *fondaco* in Bugia in North Africa. Leonardo spent several years in the Maghreb in his youth, and his work comprised theoretical mathematics that had mercantile applications. In these schools, then, aspiring merchants could learn all aspects of their trade, and receive practical and theoretical knowledge oriented towards commercial concerns.⁵⁰

Two final and related characteristics are essential to an understanding of merchant culture: civic pride and art patronage. Already in the eleventh century the Pisans established their reputation as warriors and traders in the Mediterranean. The renown of the Pisan fleet spread rapidly and merchants from other Tuscan cities sought to sail under the Pisan flag (*sub nomine Pisanorum*) to receive the advantageous trade privileges the Pisans enjoyed with their Muslim trading partners.⁵¹ By the twelfth century the Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians had established *fondachi* and even entire quarters in trading cities like Alexandria, Acre, and Constantinople, which served as commercial bases but also a microcosm of the home city, and the rivalries and alliances that characterised relations between the maritime republics on the Italian peninsula were played out and even intensified in these foreign outposts.⁵² This civic pride, manifested both at home and abroad, had great implications for art patronage, as wealthy merchants strove to embellish their city and increase their own prestige with major civic art commissions.⁵³ Documentary evidence about merchant art patronage remains scarce in the eleventh century, but the significance of religious and secular commissions by merchant patrons becomes clear subsequently, in the structures built by the Albizo family in Pisa, the Doria family in Genoa, the patronage of the Rufolo family in Amalfi, and a number of merchants who were also doges in Venice, embellishing the church of San Marco and constructing palaces along the city's canals.⁵⁴ Medieval merchants, then, emulated nobles in expending large sums of money on art and architecture as the distinctions between these two groups blurred in the later Middle Ages.⁵⁵

Recently, art historians have become increasingly convinced of the tangible connections between artistic production and long-distance trade.⁵⁶ Fittingly, it has been in the study of artistic commissions in the maritime republics of Italy that the most fruitful formulations of this relationship have developed. The wealth of these republics was based predominantly or exclusively on international trade in the Mediterranean, and the large expenditures on art and architecture by wealthy merchants in these cities

raise the question of how a distinct merchant culture determined a particular aesthetic or approach to artistic production and how this mentality was manifested in the artworks themselves. Though merchant patronage has been characterised as derivative, trickling down from the elite, Michael Baxandall's concept of a cognitive style can provide a framework for determining characteristics that are unique to artworks associated with merchant culture.⁵⁷ Baxandall defines cognitive style as 'interpreting skills one happens to possess, the categories, the model patterns, and the habits of inference and analogy' that are socially constructed and culturally relative.⁵⁸ The mental equipment that a merchant used to assess an artwork, then, would be distinct from that of someone from another class or profession, as it was based on an individual's education and training. A merchant's studies in *abaco* school emphasised geometry, as a trader needed the facility to gauge volumes quickly and accurately, and arithmetic as it applied to the study of proportions and rations.⁵⁹

An understanding of a medieval merchant's cognitive style could revolve around two interrelated themes: the concerted interest in embedding foreign objects into public art and architecture and the understanding of artworks as commodities. The first and most concrete manifestation of a merchant aesthetic is the predilection towards using exotic, foreign artworks as decoration on civic monuments. These objects, both beautiful and luxurious in their own right, alluded to the distant locales and foreign markets where medieval Italian merchants traded. As Debra Pincus has argued, the connection between reused foreign materials and commerce was paramount, as 'trade facilitated and was celebrated by the collecting and display of foreign spoils'.⁶⁰ Imported building materials and luxury objects served as tangible evidence of long-distance trade, an index of commercial and cultural relationships with various territories, Christian and Muslim, around the Mediterranean.⁶¹ They manifested the source of wealth for Italian maritime republics – international commerce – and their concerted presence on civic architecture enhanced the status of the city in the eyes of its inhabitants and visitors alike.

The Muslim ceramics reused as *bacini* in Pisa were prized precisely because they came from the Islamic world and served as an index of cultural relations with Muslim territories. In fact, this relationship with Islam was essential for the identity formation of eleventh-century Pisa and its merchants. The earliest interaction between Pisa and Muslim territories in the Mediterranean consisted of hostile military actions, and throughout the eleventh century Pisan warrior merchants fought four major battles against Muslim adversaries from Al-Andalus, North Africa, and Sicily. Pisan texts couch these victories in ideological terms, equating the Pisans with warriors of God and vilifying the enemy as idolaters and heretics.⁶²

In the eleventh century, the Pisans launched themselves into a Mediterranean commercial environment already crowded with Muslim traders and seafarers as well as Italian competitors – Venetians, Amalfitans, and, to a lesser extent, the Genoese. The Tuscan city's relationship with the East and its configuration of this relationship, then, was essential in defining who Pisa was in a Mediterranean environment. In a process of othering associated with colonial discourse, the other is quantified and constructed through a variety of negative attributes.⁶³ This othering is a dialectical process, however, as coloniser and colonised are produced simultaneously. European understandings of the Islamic world in the Middle Ages did highlight religious alterity, a clash of belief systems that incited numerous military conflicts. The definition of Islam as other, however, could also include fascination, admiration, and aesthetic appreciation in a cultural realm.

The Pisan merchants attempting to enter into Mediterranean waters for commercial ventures first had to break the stranglehold on trade held by Muslim merchants and obtain hard-fought privileges through military confrontation. Thus, the military antagonism of the Pisans did not have conquest and colonisation as its goal; it aimed rather at fending off Muslim attacks on Italian territories by means of counter-offensives, while at the same time inserting Pisan merchants into established and lucrative trade networks – a form of power not reliant on actual territorial gains. By constructing its subject position in relation to the East, Pisa could differentiate itself from its inland neighbours and coastal competitors. Through the importation of thousands of Islamic ceramics that adorned the city's churches and graced Pisan tables, Pisa constructed a particular version of the East on its own soil. In addition to the *bacini*, various other Islamic artefacts decorated Pisan churches, most notably the Pisa Griffin, and art historians have noted the appropriation of Islamic styles, techniques, and forms in locally-made objects.⁶⁴ The exotic peoples walking Pisan streets astounded the monk Donizo, author of the biography of Matilda of Canosa: 'He who comes to Pisa sees monsters from the sea; there pagans, Turks, Libyans, even Parthians and Chaldeans sully its shores'.⁶⁵

In a true reversal of East/West power relations, Pisa wished to become the East, or at least convey elements of the East to the West. The distinguishing characteristics of Islamic culture determined through a Pisan configuration of the East ultimately established the Islamic world as a role model for the emergent entrepreneurial culture of Pisa. This construction of the East maintained a distinct set of cultural references so that it could be readily identifiable as other, but the other was brought back to Pisan soil, elevated to the pinnacle of cultural and artistic excellence, and integrated into the very fabric of Pisan life as well as the city's architectural structures. Cultural imports from the Islamic world, then, could have a variety of positive associations for medieval Pisans. On the concrete level, what Oleg Grabar terms 'vulgar physicality', Muslim imports appealed to European Christian audiences because they were beautiful, precious, exotic, and colourful.⁶⁶ The vibrant greens, browns, and golden lustre of Muslim ceramics enlivened the severe brick and marble facades of Pisan religious structures and served as a more economical substitute for glass mosaic or marble inlay.⁶⁷ But even as Europeans began to produce their own glazed ceramics, imports from the Islamic world continued to flow into Western Europe. Thus, the aesthetic qualities associated with exotic and foreign materials and craftsmanship had a lasting appeal for European audiences and encouraged the acquisition and prominent display of Muslim ceramics.

In addition to demonstrating Pisa's material wealth, *bacini* from Muslim countries alluded to the cultural sophistication of this maritime republic. They displayed the eclectic tastes of what Francesco Gabrieli has characterised as a 'receptive and refined Italian society'.⁶⁸ Pisan merchants travelled throughout the Mediterranean and established colonies and *fondachi* where they lived for extended periods of time. Likewise, the city of Pisa itself welcomed foreign merchants and artisans who certainly visited but may have resided there as well. With this flow of people came exotic and luxurious goods from the Islamic world – spices, textiles, and ceramics – that formed part of the fabric of everyday life in the city. Eleventh-century Pisa was a multicultural and cosmopolitan place, a city that embraced the incorporation of Islamic culture, customs, and artworks in its public life. Pisan merchants played a central role in bringing the East to their home city while projecting their economic and political ambitions into a pan-Mediterranean society with similar mentalities, interests, and horizons of expectation. Merchants were the ideal

cultural go-betweens as they travelled across the Mediterranean, blurring boundaries between the northern and southern shores of the sea and integrating Pisa into a vibrant commercial network and sophisticated visual culture.⁶⁹

In the same way that people moved in the Mediterranean, *bacini* participated in the shared culture of objects that united the peoples who lived along its shores. A common visual culture developed in the Middle Ages that emphasised exotic foreign goods, made of luxurious and beautiful materials and crafted with the highest level of quality. *Bacini*, as products of multiple Mediterranean locations, are ideal manifestations of what Hoffman has called the pluritopic model of circulation, with numerous sites of production and reception rather than one dominant culture exerting its 'influence' on others.⁷⁰ As objects were set in motion by human actors, they became activated themselves, and we see the translation of objects but also motifs among different media that further enmeshed commercial objects in a shared culture. The popular design of animal or human figures in roundels ornaments luxurious works like carved ivories and silk textiles, as well as slightly less precious objects like painted ivories and glazed ceramics.⁷¹ These shared motifs emphasised a commonality among goods as well as people along the Mediterranean as these works were created to appeal to a heterogeneous clientele.

As these objects travelled, though, they accrued new meanings, and the Pisan *bacini* forcefully demonstrate the striking contrasts in meaning and function between their original setting and their secondary one. In the Islamic world, ceramics were functional objects, created to be used as tableware. In their translation to Pisa, they became primarily aesthetic objects, shifting from active to passive lives, secular to religious and private to public settings. Shalem has noted the additional visual interest and aesthetic tension that these objects would have accrued through their neutralisation of function.⁷² Numerous Islamic artworks and objects experienced a similar translocation and transformation as they circulated in the Mediterranean, but the Pisan context is unique in its early and enthusiastic embracing of *bacini* manufactured in Islamic countries and incorporated into the city's public structures.⁷³

Conclusion

Pisan success in the challenging Mediterranean environment was instrumental in the forging of a distinct merchant culture in the eleventh century. Merchants were simultaneously warriors, traders, pirates, and crusaders, learned men who were inspired by civic and familial pride to commission public art and architecture. Merchant culture expanded beyond the merchant class itself and inhabitants of cities whose fame and fortune were based on international trade emulated the visual manifestations of this culture as well. These visual manifestations reflected a merchant's horizon of expectation, creating a cognitive style that featured exotic Islamic objects employed in novel ways on the religious architecture of Pisa. The use of Muslim ceramics highlighted the essential role that interaction with the Islamic world played in Pisa's identity formation. Pisa constructed an East that was a religious other and military adversary as it made its first forays into the Mediterranean. As the city consolidated its role in Mediterranean trade and politics, however, its construction of an Islamic other shifted conceptually and physically; a relationship based on peaceful trade and cultural admiration was displayed on Pisan soil through the hundreds of Islamic *bacini* that ornamented Pisan churches. The fact that *bacini* circulated in Pisan markets as tableware and adorned the city's churches simultaneously made them highly complex

commodities. Diverted from the commodity sphere for use as architectural ornament, the mythologies, prestige, and symbolic and commercial value of these Islamic ceramics increased. They became apposite symbols of Pisan economic prosperity, cultural sophistication, and political ambition, all of which were forged by the city's merchant elite in the eleventh century.

APPENDIX: PISAN ELEVENTH-CENTURY CHURCHES AND THEIR *BACINI* DECORATION

All of the original *bacini* are located in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa, unless otherwise indicated.

1. Church of San Matteo: founded as a female Benedictine monastery by Ildeberto Albizzone and his wife in 1027

Two remaining *bacini* from Tunisia or Sicily

Bibliography: Berti, *Le ceramiche medievali e post-medievali*; Berti and Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate*; Berti and Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici*; Paliaga and Renzoni, *Le chiese di Pisa*; Violante, *Economia, società, istituzioni*; Bruce, 'The Politics of Violence'; Mathews, 'Plunder of War'.

2. Church of San Zeno: founded as a male Benedictine monastery c. 1029

Seven remaining *bacini* of twenty-three originals; one in situ

Two from Egypt, three from Tunisia or Sicily and two from Spain or Morocco

Bibliography: Berti, *Le ceramiche medievali e post-medievali*; Berti and Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate*; Berti and Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici*; Paliaga and Renzoni, *Le chiese di Pisa*.

3. Church of San Piero a Grado: pilgrimage church commemorating the landing of Saint Peter at Pisa; rebuilt in the early eleventh century

Sixty-four remaining *bacini* of 222 originals

Six basins from Egypt, forty-nine from Tunisia or Sicily, nine from Spain or Morocco

Bibliography: Berti, *Le ceramiche medievali e post-medievali*; Berti and Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate*; Berti and Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici*; Ceccarelli Lemut and Sodi, *Nel Segno di San Pietro*; Mathews, 'Plunder of War'; Paliaga and Renzoni, *Le chiese di Pisa*; Sodi and Burrese, *La basilica di San Piero a Grado*.

4. Church of Santo Stefano: Benedictine monastery dating to the early eleventh century

Twenty remaining *bacini* of 24 originals

Two from Egypt, seventeen from Tunisia or Sicily, and one from Spain or Morocco

Bibliography: Berti, *Le ceramiche medievali e post-medievali*; Berti and Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate*; Berti and Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici*; Garzella and Cataldi, *La chiesa di San Stefano*; Paliaga and Renzoni, *Le chiese di Pisa*.

5. Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta: begun in 1063

One Egyptian lusterware *bacino* in situ

Bibliography: Berti, *Le ceramiche medievali e post-medievali*; Berti and Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate*; Berti and Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici*; Peroni, *Il Duomo di Pisa*.

6. Church of San Sisto: votive church built after 1087 to commemorate the victories of the Pisans over the cities of al-Mahdiya and Zawila in North Africa

Fifty-two remaining *bacini* of 129 originals; one *bacino* in situ

Twelve from Egypt, twenty-nine from Tunisia or Sicily, ten from Spain or Morocco, one of unknown provenance.

Bibliography: Abulafia, 'The Pisan *Bacini*'; Banti and Violante, *Momenti di storia medio-evale pisana*; Berti, *Le ceramiche medievali e post-medievali*; Berti and Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate*; Berti and Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici*; Mathews, 'Other Peoples' Dishes'; Mathews, 'Plunder of War'; Paliaga and Renzoni, *Le chiese di Pisa*.

Notes

- 1 See, for example, David Abulafia, 'The Pisan *Bacini* and the Medieval Mediterranean Economy: A Historian's Viewpoint', in *Papers in Italian Archaeology IV: The Cambridge Conference, Part IV, Classical and Medieval Archaeology*, ed. Caroline Malone and Simon Stoddart (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1985), 287–302.
- 2 Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3–63, at 42–4, 48. More recently Sarah K. Croucher, 'Exchange Values: Commodities, Colonialism, and Identity on Nineteenth Century Zanzibar', in *The Archaeology of Capitalism in Colonial Contexts: Postcolonial Historical Archaeologies*, ed. Sarah K. Croucher and Lindsay Weiss (New York; London: Springer, 2011), 165–91.
- 3 Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Appadurai, 64–91, at 77; Appadurai, 'Introduction', 17.
- 4 Elizabeth Virginia Rodini, 'Translatio Sancti Marci: Displaying the Levant in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Venice', unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Chicago, 1995), 193, 234; Deborah Howard, *Venice & the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 15; Jill Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the Region of Amalfi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 6, 156.
- 5 See, for example, Jonathan Nelson and Richard Zeckhauser, *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Susan Mosher Stuard, *Gilding the Market: Luxury and Fashion in Fourteenth-Century Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1994); Michelle O'Malley, *The Business of Art: Contracts and the Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
- 6 Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art*, 44–5.
- 7 Michael Dietler, 'Consumption', in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, ed. Dan Hicks and Mary Carolyn Beaudry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 209–28, at 210, 216, 217.
- 8 Dietler, 'Consumption', 219.
- 9 Appadurai, 'Introduction', 33.
- 10 For this idea of the life story of things, see Appadurai, 'Introduction', 13–15; Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', 66–8.
- 11 Michael Rowlands, 'Value and the Cultural Transmission of Things', in *Commodification: Things, Agency, and Identities (The Social Life of Things Revisited)*, ed. Wim van

- Binsbergen and Peter Geschiere (Münster: Lit, 2005), 267–81, at 267; Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', 90.
- 12 Appadurai, 'Introduction', 26–9; Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', 77.
- 13 Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', 73; Daniel Miller, 'Alienable Gifts and Inalienable Commodities', in *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*, ed. Fred R. Myers (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2001), 91–115, at 95.
- 14 Appadurai, 'Introduction', 28; Rowlands, 'Value and the Cultural Transmission of Things', 267.
- 15 Fred Myers, 'Objects on the Loose', *Ethnos* 64 (1999), 263–73.
- 16 Appadurai, 'Introduction', 42–4, 48.
- 17 Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 114, 121; Rodini, 'Translatio Sancti Marci', 187, 195–6.
- 18 Rodini, 'Translatio Sancti Marci', 198; Howard, *Venice & the East*, 15, 159, 218; Myers, Introduction, *The Empire of Things*, 27–8, 42; Dietler, 'Consumption', 218–21.
- 19 Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 7; Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art*, 5; Van Binsbergen, 'Commodification', 19, 22.
- 20 Christopher A. Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities* (London: Academic Press, 1982), 12; Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, 14.
- 21 Christopher A. Gregory, *Savage Money: The Anthropology and Politics of Commodity Exchange* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1997), 44; Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, 16.
- 22 Van Binsbergen, 'Commodification', 15–23; Dietler, 'Consumption', 217–8.
- 23 Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean*, 196; Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art*, 136–7.
- 24 Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 2–3, 45, 49. See also Suzanne Conklin Akbari, 'Introduction: East, West, and In-Between', in *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 3–20, at 7; John Ganim, 'Native Studies: Orientalism and Medievalism', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 123–34; Maria Georgopoulou, 'Orientalism and Crusader Art: Constructing a New Canon', *Medieval Encounters* 5.3 (1999), 289–321.
- 25 Ottavio Banti, 'I rapporti tra Pisa e gli stati islamici dell'Africa settentrionale tra l'XI e il XIV secolo', in *Le ceramiche medievali delle chiese di Pisa: Contributo per una migliore comprensione delle loro caratteristiche e del loro significato quale documento di storia*, ed. G. Piancastelli Politi (Pisa: Pacini Editore 1983) 9–26, 10; Francesco Gabrieli, 'Guerra araba e arte araba', in *Le ceramiche medievali delle chiese di Pisa*, ed. Piancastelli Politi, 6–8, at 6. See also Christophe Picard, *La Mer des Califes; Une histoire de la Méditerranée musulmane (VIIe–XIIe siècle)* (Paris: Seuil, 2015).
- 26 Said, *Orientalism*, 1–2, 12, 20–2, 60. See also Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 36–7.
- 27 Said, *Orientalism*, 55.
- 28 Karen Mathews 'Other Peoples' Dishes: The Use and Meaning of Bacini (Ceramic Basins) as Decoration on Eleventh-century Churches in Pisa', *Gesta* 53.1 (2014), 5–23. That article addressed core art historical issues about these architectural ceramics. In it, I also present a detailed historical argument that emphasises the relationship between the use of *bacini*, particularly from Tunisia, and the importance of the Maghreb in general for Pisan maritime expansion and competition with Genoa. The present article is more concerned with theoretical questions, using the *bacini* as a springboard to address merchant mentalities and how they were manifested in the artistic production of Pisa. The idea of agency on the part of merchants as they set objects in motion that circulated in cultural and economic frameworks is central to the argument of the present article.
- 29 Detailed information about the Pisan churches and their *bacini* decoration is provided in the Appendix below.
- 30 For the argument that the *bacini* are contemporary with the buildings that they adorn, see Graziella Berti and Marcella Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrate usate come*

- 'bacini': *Importazioni a Pisa e in altri centri della Toscana tra fine X e XIII secolo* (Florence: All'insegna del giglio, 2011), 14–27; Graziella Berti and Liana Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici medievali delle chiese di Pisa* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1981), 153–7.
- 31 Cinzio Violante, *Economia, società, istituzioni a Pisa nel medioevo: Saggi e ricerche* (Bari: Dedalo libri, 1980), 62–3, note 120; Cinzio Violante, 'Les origines des fondations victorines dans la cité et au diocèse de Pise', *Provence historique: revue trimestrielle* 16 (1966), 361–76, at 364–8.
 - 32 Mathews, 'Other Peoples' Dishes', 8–10; Giuseppe Scalia, "'Romanitas" pisana tra e XII secolo: Le iscrizioni romane del duomo e la statua del console Rodolfo', *Studi medievali* 13, series 3 (1972), 791–843, at 792, 818–19; Antonio Milone, "'Arabitas" pisana e medioevo mediterraneo: Relazioni artistiche tra XI e XIII secolo', in *Fibonacci tra arte e scienza*, ed. Luigi Radicati (Cinisello Balsamo (Milano): Silvana editoriale, 2002), 101–31, at 112.
 - 33 The cathedral and San Sisto both feature other Muslim objects; the cathedral housed the Pisa Griffin and a marble capital from Al-Andalus, and San Sisto possessed an Andalusí tombstone. For these other Islamic objects, see Karen Mathews, 'Plunder of War or Objects of Trade? The Reuse and Reception of Andalusí Objects in Medieval Pisa', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 4.2 (2012), 223–58, at 237–44.
 - 34 Berti and Giorgio, *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate usate come 'bacini'* includes a CD with the text that catalogues all the Pisan *bacini* with ample illustrations.
 - 35 Berti and Tongiorgi, *I bacini ceramici medievali delle chiese di Pisa*, 290–1.
 - 36 Mathews, 'Other Peoples' Dishes', 6–8; Abulafia, 'The Pisan *Bacini*', 288; Michelle Hobart, 'Sardinian Medieval Churches and Their *Bacini*: Architecture Embedded with Archeology', unpublished PhD dissertation (New York University, 2006), 48–9.
 - 37 Mathews, 'Other Peoples' Dishes', 5–6. For a discussion of the most recent archaeological excavations in Pisa, see Monica Baldassarri and Graziella Berti, 'Nuovi dati sulle importazioni di ceramiche islamiche e bizantine a Pisa', in *Actas del VIII congreso internacional de cerámica medieval en el Mediterráneo*, ed. Juan Zozaya (Ciudad Real: Asociación Española de Arqueología Medieval, 2009), 63–80, and Monica Baldassarri and Marcella Giorgio, 'La ceramica di produzione mediterranea a Pisa tra XI e fine XIII secolo: Circolazione consumi ed aspetti sociali alla luce dei recenti scavi urbani', in *Pensare/Classificare: Studi e ricerche sulla ceramica medievale per Graziella Berti*, ed. Sauro Gelichi and Monica Baldassarri (Florence: All'insegna del giglio, 2010), 35–51.
 - 38 For general discussions of medieval merchants, see *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: L'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1993); Romeo Pavoni, 'Il mercante', in *Condizione umana e ruoli sociali nel mezzogiorno normanno-svevo: Atti delle nonne giornate normanno-sveve*, Bari, 17–20 Ottobre 1989, ed. Giosuè Musca (Bari: Edizioni Dedalo, 1991), 215–50; Marco Tangheroni, 'Le marchand italien: état de la question', in *Actes du 19e congrès des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public* (Saint-Herblain: SHMES, 1992), 11–24; Benjamin Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).
 - 39 Marco Tangheroni, 'La prima espansione di Pisa nel Mediterraneo', in *Il mare, la terra, il ferro: Ricerche su Pisa medievale (secoli VII–XIII)*, ed. Graziella Berti, Catia Renzi Rizzo, and Marco Tangheroni (Pisa: Pacini, 2004), 207–30, at 209–13; Gabriella Rossetti, 'Histoire familiale et structures sociales et politiques à Pise aux Xle et XIIe siècles', in *Famille et parenté dans l'occident médiéval: Actes du colloque de Paris (6–8 juin 1974)*, ed. Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff (Rome: L' école française de Rome, 1977), 159–66; Gabriella Rossetti, 'Ceti dirigenti e classe politica', in *Pisa nei secoli XI e XII: Formazione e caratteri di una classe di governo*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti (Pisa: Pacini, 1979), xxv–xli, at xxvi, xxxi, xxxvi–vii.
 - 40 John E. Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth-Century Venice: The Zibaldone Da Canal* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994), 1; Quentin Van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements and Social Dynamics in Medieval Genoa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 2; Pavoni, 'Il mercante'.
 - 41 The Genoese in particular had a reputation as fierce warriors, see Van Doosselaere, *Commercial Agreements and Social Dynamics*, 26, 30–1; Gabriella Airaldi, 'The Genoese Art of Warfare', in *Across the Mediterranean Frontiers: Trade, Politics and Religion, 650–1450*, ed. Dionisius Agius and Ian Richard Netton (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 269–82.

- 42 Steven Epstein, *An Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe, 1000–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 77; Peter Spufford, *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 407–8.
- 43 Kathryn Reyerson, *The Art of the Deal: Intermediaries of Trade in Medieval Montpellier* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 20; Marco Tangheroni, *Commercio e navigazione nel medioevo* (Rome: Laterza, 1996), 325–7.
- 44 Reyerson, *The Art of the Deal*, 23; Howard, *Venice & the East*, 5, 16.
- 45 David Jacoby, 'The Supply of War Materials to Egypt in the Crusader Period', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001), 102–32; Sophia Menache, 'Papal Attempts at a Commercial Boycott of the Muslims in the Crusader Period', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 62. 2 (2012), 236–59.
- 46 Kathryn Reyerson, 'Reflections on the Infrastructure of Medieval Trade', in *Trading Cultures: The Worlds of Western Merchants: Essays on Authority, Objectivity, and Evidence*, ed. Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 7–34, at 22; Tangheroni, *Commercio e navigazione*, 293, 317–8; Howard, *Venice & the East*, 19–22. The extensive number of merchants' manuals written in the late medieval and early modern periods attests to widespread literacy among merchants. Though generally quite formulaic and repetitive in nature, a manual like the Venetian *Zibaldone da Canal* (early fourteenth-century) did have some literary pretensions, as it included a version of the Tristan story, romantic poetry, and a short historical chronicle of Venice; see Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth-Century Venice*, 13.
- 47 Robert S. Lopez and Gabriella Airaldi, 'Il più antico manuale italiano di pratica della mercatura', *Miscellanea di studi storici* 2 (1983), 99–117, at 115. For a more recent discussion of this manual, see David Jacoby, 'The Pisan Commercial Manual of 1278', in *Quel mar che la terra inghirlanda: In ricordo di Marco Tangheroni*, ed. Franco Cardini and Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut (Pisa: Pacini, 2007), vol. 2, 449–64.
- 48 Robert S. Lopez, 'The Culture of the Medieval Merchant', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies: Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1979), 52–73, at 58–64; Armando Saporì, 'La cultura del mercante medievale italiano', in *Gli orizzonti aperti: Profili del mercante medievale*, ed. Gabriella Airaldi (Turin: Paravia scriptorium, 1997), 139–73, at 145–51; Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 86–7.
- 49 A large number of works address Fibonacci's work and legacy; see Enrico Giusti, ed., *Un ponte sul Mediterraneo: Leonardo Pisano, la scienza araba e la rinascita della matematica in Occidente* (Firenze: Polistampa, 2002); Radicati, ed., *Fibonacci tra arte e scienza*; Marcello Morelli and Marco Tangheroni, *Leonardo Fibonacci: Il tempo, le opere, l'eredità scientifica* (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1994).
- 50 For abaco schools in medieval and Renaissance Italy, see Elisabetta Ulivi, 'Scuole e maestri d'abaco in Italia tra Medioevo e Rinascimento', in *Un ponte sul Mediterraneo*, ed. Giusti, 121–59.
- 51 Ottavio Banti, *A Short History of Pisa* (Pisa: Pacini, 1999), 28–9, 31; Reyerson, *The Art of the Deal*, 26.
- 52 Dotson, *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth-Century Venice*, 7–8; Reyerson, *The Art of the Deal*, 27–8; Jacques Le Goff, *Marchands et Banquiers du Moyen-Age*, 9th edition (Paris: PUF, 2001), 121–2. For the visual manifestation of political rivalries between Genoa and Venice, see Robert S. Nelson, 'The History of Legends and the Legends of History: The Pilastri Acritani in Venice', in *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, ed. Henry Maguire and Robert Nelson (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010), 63–90.
- 53 Lopez, 'The Culture of the Medieval Merchant', 65–6; Le Goff, *Marchands et banquiers*, 106–11, 123–4; Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art*, 179; Nelson and Zeckhauser, *The Patron's Payoff*, 44.
- 54 For Venice, see Howard, *Venice & the East*; Cinzio Violante, *Economia, società, istituzioni a Pisa nel medioevo*, addresses Pisan material. For Amalfi, see Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean*; and for Genoa, Rebecca Müller, *Spolien und Trophäen im mittelalterlichen Genua: Sic hostes Ianua frangit* (Weimar: VDG, 2002).

- 55 Le Goff, *Marchands et banquiers*, 113–15, notes that palatial homes and portraiture were two types of artworks favored by merchant patrons. Emilio Cristiani, *Nobiltà e popolo nel comune di Pisa: Dalle origini del podestariato alla signoria dei Donoratico* (Naples: Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1962), addresses in detail the intermingling of aristocratic and merchant families in Pisa.
- 56 Howard, *Venice & the East*, Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean*; Mathews, 'Plunder of War', and Mathews, 'Other Peoples' Dishes', have studied art patronage in Venice, Amalfi, and Pisa respectively as it relates to each city's commercial wealth.
- 57 Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, 36–40. Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean*, 22–3, 155–60, 186, addresses the concrete example of merchant patrons in medieval Amalfi and its environs, arguing that the 'broad cultural horizons of the Amalfitan merchant fueled an eclectic visual culture'. She notes particularly that this merchant aesthetic was distinct from that of elite culture, with merchant-commissioned works highlighting colour and a variety of materials while being consciously archaic, that is, referring to older art styles and techniques rather than the new Gothic style employed by the Angevin court.
- 58 Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, 29–30, 40.
- 59 *ibid.*, 86–9.
- 60 Debra Pincus, 'The Stones of Venice in the Baptistry of San Marco: Eastern Marbles in Western Mosaics', in *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer*, ed. Cecil L. Striker (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 137–41, at 138.
- 61 Rodini, 'Translatio Sancti Marci', 39, 45, 191, 197–8, 231; Howard, *Venice & the East*, 5, 217–8; Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean*, 115, 156, 159–60, 164.
- 62 Mathews, 'Plunder of War', 236–7. Pisan celebratory texts like the *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*, the *Liber Maiolichinus* and *Gesta triumphalia* all share these characteristics.
- 63 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'The Rani of Sirmur: an Essay in Reading the Archives', *History and Theory* 24.3 (1985), 247–72, at 252–7. More recent discussions of this concept of othering in relation to Islam include Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-cultural Encounters in Pre-colonial Moroccan and European Travel Writing* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013); Eduardo Terrén, 'Rethinking the Ties that Bind: Religion and the Rhetoric of Othering', *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 8. 3 (2004), 13–22; and Sune Qvortrop Jensen, 'Othering, Identity Formation and Agency', *Qualitative Studies* 2.2 (2011), 63–78.
- 64 Mathews, 'Plunder of War', 237–41; Lamia Balafrej, 'Saracen or Pisan? The Use and Meaning of the Pisa Griffin on the Duomo', *Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012), 31–40; Clara Baracchini and Antonino Caleca, 'Presenze islamiche nell'arte a Pisa', in *Arte islamica: Presenze di cultura islamica nella Toscana costiera*, ed. Mariagiulia Burresi (Pisa: Museo Nazionale e Civico di S. Matteo, 1995), 51–63.
- 65 Marco Tangheroni, 'Fonti e problemi della storia del commercio mediterraneo nei secoli XI–XIV', in *Ceramiche, città e commerci nell'Italia tardo-medievale*, ed. Sauro Gelichi (Mantua: S.A.P., 1998), 11–22, at 18, citing Donizo's *Vita Matildis*: 'Qui pergit Pisas, videt illic monstra marina/ haec urbs paganis, Turclis, Libicis, quoque Parthis/ sordida, Chaldei sua lustrant litora tetri'. Enrica Salvatori, 'Pisa in the Middle Ages: The Dream and the Reality of an Empire', in *Empires and States in European Perspectives*, ed. Ann Katherine Isaacs (Pisa: Edizioni Plus, Università di Pisa, 2012), 13–32, at 16, provides the following translation: 'Whoever goes to Pisa sees monsters that come from the sea, Pagans, Turks, Libyans and even Parthians and dark Chaldeans going up and down along her shores'. Donizo's statement is all the more remarkable because it is so unusual. There are very few references to foreigners from Muslim lands in Pisa, but his negative reaction to their presence would seem to corroborate the veracity of the reference.
- 66 Oleg Grabar, 'The Shared Culture of Objects', in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997), 115–29, at 126; Jerrilynn Dodds, 'Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art', in *The Art of Medieval Spain A.D. 500–1200* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 27–37, 30–2; D. Fairchild Ruggles, 'Representation and Identity in Medieval Spain: Beatus Manuscripts and the Mudejar Churches of Teruel', in *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*, ed. Ross Brann (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1997), 77–106, at 92.

- 67 Hobart, 'Sardinian Medieval Churches', 213; Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean*, 124.
- 68 Gabrieli, 'Guerra araba e arte araba', 8.
- 69 For merchants bridging gaps between cultures, see Sharon Kinoshita, 'Marco Polo's *Le Devisement dou monde* and the Tributary East', in *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, ed. Akbari and Iannucci, 60–86, at 77–81.
- 70 Eva Hoffman, 'Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *Art History* 24.1 (2001), 17–50, at 21.
- 71 Eva Hoffman, 'Translation in Ivory: Interactions across Cultures and Media in the Mediterranean During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *Siculo-Arabic Ivories and Islamic Painting, 1100–1300*, ed. David Knipp (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2011), 99–119, at 103–4.
- 72 Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), 130–1.
- 73 Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, 'From Secular to Sacred: Islamic Art in Christian Contexts', in *Secular Sacred: 11th to 16th Century*, ed. Nancy Netzer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 115–19, at 115; Anna Contadini, 'Translocation and Transformation: Some Middle Eastern Objects in Europe', in *The Power of Things and the Flow of Cultural Transformations*, ed. Lieselotte Saurma-Jeltsch and Anja Eisenbeiß (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 42–64, at 42–3.

9 The Muslim warrior at the Seder meal

Dynamics between minorities in the Rylands Haggadah

Jane Barlow

Introduction

Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities lived alongside each other in medieval Aragon. Much discussion of this period tends to simplify or romanticise the cultural exchange between them, and Jewish-Christian relations in particular. Equally, considerable effort has gone into documenting tensions that existed between the communities. The medieval world and the Iberian Peninsula in particular are well known for shifting boundaries, bitter feuds and sudden changes in power. These shifts lead to constant renegotiation of identity and difference, alongside the reality of continuing daily life together. What follows is a postcolonial analysis of a rather puzzling image of a Muslim warrior in the Rylands Haggadah, produced in Aragon under Christian rule.¹ In this Jewish book, the Muslim warrior represents visually the 'wicked son' as a contradictory figure simultaneously of disavowal and of intimacy.

This essay attempts to resist a normative approach to Jewish belief and practice, in order to offer a broader interpretation of what being Jewish meant in a social context. The manuscript will not be considered as being indicative of the whole community, but rather reflecting the individual patron's or artist's sense of identity, or the sense of identity of a social subgroup of the community. It is in this context that I argue for traces in the manuscript of guilt and sadness at betrayed and disavowed relationships, particularly with Muslim groups.²

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's term 'subaltern' is particularly useful in the consideration of the medieval world, because it transcends other categories such as class, religion or gender.³ In the study of the medieval period, today's understanding of terms such as 'nations', 'class' and 'gender' is sometimes applied incongruously. Spivak's experience of academic analysis of the Indian, rather than medieval, context was similar, and Spivak intentionally chose the word 'subaltern' because it can be applied to oppression across many social groups. The term 'subaltern' therefore provides an appropriate way into a postcolonial interrogation of the material, as it resists defining the social, religious or economic situation.

However, Spivak does warn against using the term 'subaltern' in a generalised way, as such a use risks drawing broad strokes across many peoples and in doing so homogenising these groups further. The study of Medieval Jewish art can benefit from Spivak's work because Jewish cultural products have often been described anachronistically, owing to their maker's status, as what would in modern times be called a

religious minority. The term 'minority' is loaded with associations of low economic status and a lack of power, which does not accurately reflect the Jewish experience in medieval Aragon. This imbalance is particularly true of artefacts for Jewish patrons, which were often produced at great personal expense, and required the owners and patrons to be in a strong economic position.

The status of Jews as members of a specifically religious minority has also led to the misrepresentation of Jewish art. The historical narrative often imposed on Jewish-Christian relations in medieval Europe emphasises Jewish passivity.⁴ Jewish communities in eleventh- and twelfth-century Aragon have been depicted as caught between two warring political groupings, the Christian and Muslim rulers, without any agency of their own. Similarly, in scholarship about the blood libel trials, the Jewish community is understood as the unfortunate victim of the 'scapegoat mechanism', leading to a sense that Jews had no active role in the narrative of their interaction with Christians.⁵ Re-tellings or depictions of Jewish history, through the image of the Jew as a minority figure, run the risk of re-subordinating these communities. Is there perhaps another way of reading these events? Were Jews a passive minority subservient to the ruling authority, whoever it may have been? How did Jews view Muslim and Christian groups within their own community and further afield?⁶

The image of a Muslim warrior (Figures 9.1a and 9.1b) in the Rylands Haggadah provides a case study for these questions, as it depicts a relationship not between minority and majority, but between two minorities or subaltern groups. The warrior figure represents power and aggression, suggesting a challenge to the current power dynamic. In another manuscript from the same period and geographic area, the Sarajevo Haggadah, a Muslim woman is depicted as a servant, thereby connoting class and economic dependence (Figure 9.3).⁷ In this way, the other 'subaltern', the Muslim figure, becomes a deposit for anxieties within the Jewish community about 'Otherness'. The Jewish community, although not a coloniser of the Muslim community, is positioned, in the manuscript images, as if it were in fact a coloniser. In this sense, this period in Aragon is 'postcolonial', as it reveals the power asymmetries between subaltern groups. It is at this stage in the discussion that a departure from Spivak's theories will be necessary, as she does not offer a framework for dialogue between subaltern groups. The question for this chapter is not 'Can the subaltern speak?', as Spivak asks, but 'How can one subaltern speak to another?'

The Rylands Haggadah, a liturgy for the Jewish festival of Passover, is thought to have been produced in the 1330s in Barcelona.⁸ It contains the usual elements of a Sephardi Passover Haggadah: the liturgy for the eve of Passover (fol. 20r–36v) and the hymns (*Piyyutim*) that are sung before (fol. 5v–10v) and during Passover (fol. 37v–53v). Commentary texts in the form of zoomorphic and geometric micrography accompany the main text.⁹ The text is preceded by a series of full-page, captioned images, which depicts an (unusually selective) life of Moses (fol. 13v–19r), concluding with contemporary Passover meal scenes (fol. 19v).¹⁰ The text is decorated with marginalia, some of which illustrate the text and constitute orientation aids; other marginalia fall into the broad category of what Camille called the 'image on the edge': animals, hunting scenes, hybrid creatures.¹¹

Text and images in Haggadah manuscripts commemorate the biblical event of Passover, which is part of the Jewish historical narrative, a journey through exile, slavery and persecution to redemption. The annual repetition of the liturgy in the present



Figure 9.1a and b The 'wicked son', Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Hebrew MS 6, fol. 23r, detail (photograph: reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director, The John Rylands Library, The University of Manchester).

commemorates the past events and unites the narrative of the past (the life of Moses and the Exodus) with present experience (the Passover meal).

The Muslim warrior image accompanies the text that is read at the start of the Passover meal; he is the 'wicked son', one of the Haggadah's 'four sons', each of whom performs a role in the liturgy. The other subaltern, the Muslim, is therefore represented as a son, a member of the family. Although distinct and separate, he becomes an intimate stranger, outside and inside the community. The wicked son, the Muslim warrior, is indicative of what Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, inspired by Lacanian terminology, calls *extimé*. Cohen speaks of 'the monster's simultaneous presence both within and outside human identity':

This 'extimacy', this dual positionality as 'intimate stranger', is a disturbing site that has much in common with the postmodern anti-identity term 'queer'. Both indicate an abjected realm outside but entwined within, the 'normal,' the unambiguous, the culturally central...¹²

The monster exposes the *extimé*, the 'extimacy' or 'intimate alterity' of identity: its inescapable self-estrangement, the restless presence at its center of everything it abjects in order to materialize and maintain its borders.¹³

For Cohen, the Other is actually found not just within the community but within oneself:

We know that Jews and Christians residually intermingled, because narratives like William of Newburgh's tell us they did. These stories convey something of

shared history into the present. They are also a performance of that reality itself. Can we not glimpse in the very form of these narratives (narratives that insist on segregation but are quietly undone by co-dwelling, neighbouring) another kind of living-together?¹⁴

For Cohen, the narratives he analyses reveal a fear or anxiety about what he calls 'coinhabitation', 'coinhabited space' or 'coinhabitation' with the Other, an anxiety that leads to a process of dis-coinhabitation by trying to solidify, control and fix the narrative of segregation.¹⁵ A similar process may be at work in the Rylands Haggadah's depiction of the Muslim warrior. The process of dis-coinhabitation acknowledges the Other but also seeks to control and define it; in doing so, the difference and 'Otherness' of the Muslim group cannot be further blended and merged with the self. Postcolonial theory thus offers a vocabulary for describing the relationship between Jewish, Christian and Muslim groups.

Marginalia, the subaltern and narratives of ambivalence

The Muslim wicked son figure is one of the painted marginalia accompanying the Haggadah text, and so is literally in the margins of the page and thereby physically marginalised. In fact, the Rylands Haggadah is accompanied by a number of marginalia, many of which are intended as illustrations.¹⁶ Other marginal elements in the Rylands Haggadah challenge or nuance the wicked son figure, and perhaps also offer a demonstration of other postcolonial concepts such as 'hybrid' and 'subversion'.

The marginal image is a concept already familiar in medieval scholarship, as are hybrid figures, which appear frequently in the margins of manuscripts from late medieval Europe. In postcolonial theory, the margins refer to those on the periphery of society in a world viewed from the vantage point of the metropolis.¹⁷ The marginal images in the Rylands Haggadah embody French and Italian stylistic and iconographic traditions, and it has been suggested that they may have been produced by Christians.¹⁸ The marginal images include hybrid creatures and hybrid people as well as men, hares, birds and dogs.¹⁹ These creatures, half man half beast, neither fully one nor the other, are hybrids; the presence of these hybrid beings could be an acknowledgment of cultural hybridity at work in this manuscript. Homi Bhabha writes that hybridity emerges when two cultures antagonistically come together, in a 'borderline existence' and 'in-between' two things rather than either something new or what was there before.²⁰ In this way, Bhabha describes the experience of being coloured in South Africa as lacking definition and 'in-between'. The margins on the page become the 'borderline existence' between the centre of the page and the very edge of the page. This lack of definition, Bhabha claims, 'questions binary divisions', and creates intimacy and a blurring of two things. The margins in the manuscript therefore perhaps reflect the disorder of a cultural experience as several cultures come together.

The hunting and military tropes are repeated in several marginal images, sometimes following the laws of nature and at other times contradicting them. The marginal scenes include a hybrid man on stork's legs shooting arrows at a hare (fol. 27v, accompanying an exposition of the divine miracles attending the Israelite Exodus from Egypt); another human-animal hybrid aiming a crossbow at an owl (fol. 29v,

accompanying the hymn Dayyenu); and a hybrid creature raising a shield and sword as defence against another hybrid creature (fol. 30r, ditto). Elsewhere, a snail faces a squirrel (fol. 33r, blessing over second cup of wine); and a typical hare hunt concludes with a dog having just caught a hare and having drawn blood, followed by a man carrying a dead hare (fol. 29v, bas-de-page to Dayyenu hymn).

Kogman-Appel suggests that some of the marginal images do have a meaning which can be decoded. According to her, the dogs hunting and causing physical harm, for example, could be symbols of the Dominican friars, adversaries of the Jewish community.²¹ Similarly, Epstein has demonstrated the ways in which Spanish Haggadah marginalia can carry narratives and even be subversive. When the hare is master over a dog in the margins of the Barcelona Haggadah, the order of Gentile oppression of Jews is imaginatively reversed.²² Unlike the hares in the upside-down world of the Barcelona Haggadah's margins, the hares in the margins of the Rylands Haggadah are not subversive: the dogs hunt the hares and catch them; there is no alteration of the expected narrative. Allegorical and iconographical readings of the marginalia are possible, as Kogman-Appel and Epstein demonstrate, often emphasising the religious aspects. Perhaps other – cultural rather than religious – factors were at play in the mind of the manuscript's patron.

Spivak critiques subaltern studies because in her view, they have the potential to reinforce the marginal position of a group within a cultural environment. In the case of the wicked son and the other marginalia, religion becomes the dominant interpretative key, and consequently other marginal relationships that may be present, such as economic and political exchanges, are sidelined.²³ In other words, a manuscript can reflect not just Judaism's position in relation to Christianity or Islam, but also the Jewish, Barcelonese position in relation to other secular aspects of cultural exchange. It is in these 'secular' realms of exchange that coinhabitation, as Cohen describes it, between Christian and Jewish groups is more common. The Muslim servant in the Sarajevo Haggadah points to an economic relationship first and foremost. If we follow Spivak, we could argue that it is the economic, not the religious, aspect of this relationship that marginalises the Muslim in this context.

The most extensive work on the illuminations of Haggadot (Passover manuscripts) from Iberia has been carried out by Katrin Kogman-Appel in *Illuminated Haggadah from Medieval Spain: Biblical Imagery and the Passover Holiday*. Kogman-Appel traces possible pictorial and stylistic sources for the images in the Haggadot to demonstrate Jewish appropriation and adaptation of Christian sources into the Jewish narrative, voided of Christian associations. Scholarship about Jewish art tends to focus on the ways in which the religious spheres of exchange are negotiated and represented, and not on other cultural, stylistic, social or geographical factors. Are there other ways in which the Rylands Haggadah can be examined, apart from its 'Judaic' (religiously Jewish) iconography and content?

Kogman-Appel identifies the marginalia in the manuscript as French Gothic in style, and the picture cycles as based on predominantly Italian sources.²⁴ These connections imply relationships and exchanges with French and Italian politics, and invite an enquiry into the social geography of Catalonian Jewish merchants. The northern Italian and the French states were important trading partners as well as rivals for Catalonian merchants, while islands such as Sardinia, Malta and Sicily were the sites of tense, and sometimes confrontational, international relations, as

the Crown of Aragon (Kingdom of Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia and Majorca) and its sibling, the kingdom of Mallorca (1276–1349), expanded in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Between 1300 and 1348, Catalanian merchants controlled most of the trade in the Mediterranean, breaking the Italian monopoly.²⁵ In 1315, all Italians were expelled from the Aragonese Empire, but were invited back if they supported the Sardinian invasion. With and without the support of Venice, Aragon fought the Genovese in Sardinia throughout the 1320s.²⁶ Complex relationships developed between different ports and families of northern Italy, and the Barcelonese: they were rivals but also allies, friends and traitors during the first half of the fourteenth century.

In contrast to Epstein and Kogman-Appel, Michael Camille would resist identifying cultural exchange within the iconography of marginalia. Camille argues that marginalia avoid being unambiguous: they are ‘about the anxiety of nomination and the problem of signifying nothing in order to give birth to meaning at the centre’.²⁷ The marginalia are self-consciously resisting being decoded and identified, in contrast to the ‘centre’ of the page, which is something specific, a Passover liturgy unique to this Aragonese community and yet similar in most ways to the Passover celebrated in the past, the present and the future by the wider Jewish cultural community. In these manuscripts, the use of the Western European repertoire of marginalia (hybrid creatures fighting and hunting, sometimes humorously), rather than the geometric *mudejar* (Muslims living under Christian rule) styles, demonstrates affinity with the local hegemonic culture. The economic and social-cultural relationship between Catalonia and Western Europe is emphasised, rather than any religious Jewish-Christian hostility. In this way, the margins allow the ‘origin’ culture and heritage centre-stage, but new relationships are also given space. Bhabha terms this interaction between the past ‘origin’ culture and new cultural experiences as ‘borderline work of culture’, which creates an “in-between” space that innovates and interrupts the performance of the present’.²⁸ The Passover liturgy is the ‘performance of the present’, an enacting of tradition, whereas the apparent disorder of the un-decoded margins distracts, ‘interrupts’, but also changes, ‘innovates’, the tradition by introducing secular as well as religious contexts from the present. If we follow Bhabha’s and Camille’s logic, the centre of the page would correspond to a normative culture that aims to maintain its boundaries by defining itself, whereas the margins challenge this rigidity by blurring two cultures and resisting a binary relationship between the religious and secular.

This is a hybrid manuscript, drawing on a range of artistic sources and creating new designs; it is significant that these Haggadah manuscripts were produced during the period that the Crown of Aragon embarked on its Mediterranean and Iberian expansion.²⁹ Borderlines and boundaries are an important part of identity formation, and such territorial changes brought about during periods of expansion create uncertainty. Bhabha writes that the borders of a nation have a ‘double temporality’: first, identity shaped by history; and second, identity loss that occurs in the present ‘signifying process of cultural identification’.³⁰ Bhabha goes on to argue that ‘the figure of the people emerges in the narrative ambivalence of disjunctive times and meanings’; that is to say, culture is a product of the space between the narrative passed down through tradition and the way in which this is signified or enacted in the present.³¹ Cultures and communities create an internal sense of identity based on the narrative told about

the past, and the story of how this community came to live as it does. The successes and damage experienced by cultures feed into forming and defining what unites these people. However, there can be discrepancies between established traditions, such as between the Passover liturgy, and the way in which it is experienced or represented by individuals. However, if another cultural group, such as Christians, were to enact or represent the Jewish practices, the discrepancies with tradition would be greater than when enacted by the Jewish community. Bhabha describes these discrepancies or gaps between, on the one hand, corporate traditional narrative, as well as the way in which a culture is experienced in the present, and on the other hand, the way it is represented or 'signified' by external groups. The cultural borderlines between two groups, such as Jews and Christians, create the experience of a 'double temporality', as the rigid narrative of the past is challenged and starts to lose meaning. The identity of the Jewish community has a present reality – in fact, many varied realities – and a past narrative, a 'double temporality'. Bhabha provides a useful framework to explore the disjuncture at work in the Rylands Haggadah.

The borders experienced by the community that produced the Rylands Haggadah are the borders with other communities, but also internal borders between the secular and the religious in Jewish daily life. The 'double temporality' that Bhabha outlines can be explored in the choice of Italian-style marginal images. Venice was known for being a trading rival that did not admit Jewish residents, a religious and economic border, whereas in Genoa there is evidence of Christian and Jewish social interaction.³² The Italian-style marginalia are depicted despite the religious and economic animosity felt towards Venice by the Jewish community. Animosity towards Venice would have still existed, but it is lost or disavowed in the choice of Italian marginal styles; this can be described as a 'double temporality', as during the process of 'signification', antagonism is lost and not represented. Similarly, the wicked son, being depicted as Muslim, asserts supremacy in one cultural exchange, but the anti-Christian sentiments underlying the polemical lore surrounding the figure of the wicked son are lost. The culture in which the manuscript originated and was used is shaped by conflicting narratives and relationships, and therefore the wicked son is caught between different modes of signification. This hybrid product is unable to signify all aspects of this fluctuating identity, and creates its own 'narratives of ambivalence', in this case towards the Christian neighbour and rival.

The marginalia present many questions. To assume that they have allegorical and subversive (*mundus inversus*) meanings would reduce their complexity and ambiguity. Stylistically the manuscript incorporates a range of sources and demonstrates cultural exchange; however, in representing and signifying these exchanges, other animosities are lost. Bhabha argues that when there is loss during signification, meaning becomes less clear and 'the signifier "fades"', 'the language of national collectivity and cohesiveness is now at stake'.³³ Due to the 'double temporality' at work on the manuscript page, the central traditions, and the 'language of national collectivity', are threatened. As the borderlines shift in cultural exchange, so too do the meanings of signifying objects and signs, which creates loss and ambiguity. This is Spivak's, and Bhabha's, general criticism of colonialism and cultural exchange; cultural loss occurs when two cultures interact and the loss is often the smallest voice. This loss of a fixed identity – the realisation that your own community and identity cannot be fixed – can lead to the cultural anxiety that is expressed in the presence of the Muslim figures discussed above. The wicked son figure is the ultimate Other in relation to the wealthy

Jewish patron in Christian Catalonia. The Muslim rural working class is the figure of Otherness, vis-à-vis both the Christian elite and the Jewish community. The internal anxiety at the Jewish community's sense of its own ambivalent narrative is deposited onto the minority's minority figure – the subaltern Muslim, who although part of the family, occupies the margins.

The wicked son and cohabiting with Muslims

The Muslim warrior in the Rylands Haggadah is one of the haggadic 'four sons' that are dramatised as part of the Passover meal ritual, the Seder. The drama of the four sons is an essential part of the traditional liturgy.

The four sons – the 'wise son', the 'wicked son', the 'simple son', and 'the one who does not know how to ask' – are each imagined as asking a question during the Seder meal. The way in which the Muslim figure is depicted in this highly significant moment in the Jewish year is therefore very interesting. The Muslim is given a specific role, that of the wicked son, and doing so fixes the Muslim position, while at the same time acknowledging his role within Jewish daily life. Fol. 23r depicts the first two sons (wise and wicked) in the margin of the relevant text. The other two sons (the 'simple son' and 'the one who doesn't know how to ask') are not illustrated in this particular manuscript. The wise son is depicted as a grey-haired and bearded, long-robed man sitting on a solid cushioned seat of honour looking studious, holding up and pointing to a book as if reading to a group of students; the book contains in miniature a repetition of the Haggadah text which the figure illustrates: 'The wise [son] – what does he say? "What are the testimonies...?"'. Upright on his seat, he appears almost statuesque, and mirrors a very similar figure of Rabbi Eleazar, an ancient rabbinic authority, on the opposite page. In marked contrast, the second son, the so-called wicked son, is dressed in military clothes and is in motion, not as a statue but as if in the action of a bloody fight. The wicked son is depicted as a Muslim warrior brandishing his drawn scimitar, dripping with blood.³⁴ The figure is blue-skinned – designating an African – showing his difference from the pale-skinned, scholarly figure of the wise son, and his curved scimitar aligns him with the Muslim warriors of southern Spain and North Africa, who were engaged in territorial and religious conflict with the Catholic rulers of the northern Iberian peninsula. The soldier's lower limbs and raised right arm suggest swift movement, as if advancing to the right in the midst of battle. His mouth is open and his teeth are showing above an unkempt beard, he wears knee-length, slit clothes with rolled-up sleeves, revealing his muscular forearms and blue legs striding out in pointy black boots, and he carries a round shield lowered to his waist. The soldier is not yet victorious, the battle is not complete but in progress, the bloodied scimitar shows that he has already caused bloodshed, and the image clearly indicates his potential, and in fact intent, to cause more bloodshed beyond the action of this page of the manuscript.

It was highly unusual for contemporary Muslim characters (i.e. not ancient Midianites) to feature in Jewish manuscripts. The only other depiction known to me is the Muslim servant woman at the Seder table in the Sarajevo Haggadah, to be discussed below. The Rylands Haggadah is, therefore, almost unique in its portrayal of a Muslim, and specifically a Muslim as a soldier (Figures 9.1a and 9.1b). Does this depiction form part of a dialogue with the Andalusian image of the Jewish people as Other? The relationship with the Muslim community, the other subaltern group, is directly

affected by the relationship with the Christian ruling group, the coloniser. There are two main lines of enquiry to consider here: first, the inclusion of a Muslim in a Haggadah manuscript; and, second the importance of this figure's identity as a violent soldier.

The liturgical function of the wicked son

Liturgically, the passage about the four sons is a device that prompts a multi-generational retelling of the importance of Passover. After a child has performed the liturgical 'four questions', the 'dialogue of the four sons' follows. This pedagogical enactment is dramatic in comparison to the traditionally static, marginal depictions of the sons in these manuscripts.

In the Passover Haggadah, the four sons each ask their father a question in turn (except for the youngest child, who does not know what to ask). The sons appear roughly in descending order of age, beginning with the most mature, the wise son, and ending with the youngest, too young to know how to ask. The questions are all based on passages from the Torah, and ask about the tradition of Passover and the first Passover. The wise son's question is based on Deuteronomy 6:20: 'What mean the testimonies, statutes and the ordinances, which the Lord our God hath commanded to us?'³⁵ Although part of a dialogue in the liturgy, in the Bible it is a rhetorical question used by Moses to encourage the Israelites to follow the laws. His question is preceded in the Torah by the revelation of the commandments, and then a passage that begins the Shema (Deut.6: 4–9), elements at the centre of the Jewish faith, thus earning him the title of the wise son. The wicked son challenges with 'What is this service to you?',³⁶ and receives the reply '[It is] because of that which the Lord did for me when I came out of Egypt'.³⁷ The simple son's question (Exodus 13:14)³⁸ is taken from the same chapter as the response to the wicked son. The simple son's question is again part of a rhetorical device, used by Moses to explain how the arrival into the Promised Land will be commemorated. The one who does not know how to ask is given the same response as the wicked son: 'It is because of that which the Lord did for me when I came forth out of Egypt' (Exodus 13:8), and is also very similar to the response given to the simple son. The father's responses separate the wise son from the other sons. However in the Rylands Haggadah, the depiction of only the wicked son and wise son gives equal presence to these first two sons: the rabbinic heritage and the threatening presence.

The wicked son asks: 'What is this service to *you*?' and thus denies himself a place in the community, as the Haggadah explicitly notes. In Hebrew, the son's use of the second person plural, 'you', dramatically separates his experience from the others at the table, showing that he rejects his community and excludes himself from it. Hence, his title is 'the wicked son', and he is contrasted with the wise son. It has been argued that the liturgical figure of the wicked son registered a covert anti-Christian polemical stance: the wicked son hints at a Christological interpretation of the Passover.³⁹ The response to the wicked son is to 'dull/blunt his teeth' with the taunt that 'had he been there, he would not have been redeemed'. At issue in the polemic is the continued fight for the title 'the true Israel'. In the Rylands Haggadah the wicked son is open-mouthed with his teeth on show, thus alluding to the injunction in the liturgy to 'dull his teeth' in response to this aggressive posture. Despite the traditionally understood polemical

(anti-Christian) context, he is depicted here not as a Christian but as a Moor/Muslim. This depiction complicates any Jewish-Christian dichotomy, and the confrontation is redrawn to include a third party.

In the Rylands Haggadah, the wise son is seated in a static posture and is almost a statue, a visual memory device; he is bearded, wears long robes and displays a book; thus he is identified as a scholar and as authoritative, indistinguishable from the other, ancient, rabbinic authorities cited and depicted in the manuscript.⁴⁰ In contrast, the wicked son below him is a living character not yet frozen in time but as active as the contemporary voices reading the liturgy. Like the biblical picture cycles, the figure of the wise son recalls and memorialises the biblical and rabbinic past; these images reinforce the great contemporary cultural value given to history, whereas the wicked son represents the present.

The juxtaposition of the wise son and the wicked son pulls together the collective Jewish past with the current experience of this specific community or patron. Religious festivals, and the texts and practices associated with them, are not only signs of celebration and praise but also acts of commemoration and remembrance of biblical history and the community's history. This is particularly true of the polemically intertwined Easter and Passover, as both festivals remember persecution and redemption in the past: the Israelites' slavery, the crossing of the Red Sea and flight from Egypt, on the one hand, and Jesus's crucifixion and resurrection on the other.⁴¹ The festivals also have another temporal dimension, as they look forward to future Passovers and to salvation. Depicting the wicked son as an *active* Muslim figure in this manuscript entwines the figure into the memorial and temporal narrative for this Jewish community, as it creates associations with the first Passover, subsequent Passovers and those yet to come. The warrior figure is in motion, present and living on the page, rather than a still frieze recalling a past event; the Muslim figure is part of the current Passover and by implication will be remembered in future Passovers because of his presence at this one. The Muslim warrior/wicked son figure bears witness to a shifting cultural meaning of Passover in 1330s Barcelona, as it drags the Muslim minority into the power-play between Christians and Jews.

The wicked son as a Muslim

It is instructive to compare the Rylands Haggadah's wicked son with his counterpart in the British Library's Brother Haggadah (Figure 9.2).⁴² The latter is considered to be a sibling manuscript to the Rylands Haggadah, because of the extremely similar textual and pictorial choices made by its scribe(s) and artist(s). The depictions of the wicked son represent one of the key differences between the two manuscripts, whereas the depictions of the wise son in the two manuscripts are consistent with each other. The wicked son in the Brother Haggadah is also a soldier, turning in profile towards the text describing him. While bearded, stereotypically frowning, open-mouthed, bare-teethed and armed, he has been Europeanised, unlike his counterpart in the Rylands Haggadah. And though darker-skinned than the wise son, he is lighter-skinned than the Rylands Haggadah's wicked son. He is wearing clothing and carrying arms more typical of Christian Europe. Like the Rylands image, he is also intimidating and moving. He too has been caught in action. He has drawn his sword with his left hand, and has pushed his large, oblong shield defensively in front of his body with his right

hand. *Pentimenti* (corrections) allow us to see some experimentation with both pose and armour. Overall, the Brother Haggadah figure is aggressive but less violent than the Rylands figure; there is no blood, and the wicked son's posture seems defensive rather than provoking. His legs are in a stationary position; although his raised arms suggest movement, it is the left arm not the powerful right arm that is wielding the sword. The Brother Haggadah's depiction of the wicked son is less urgent and more in keeping with other Haggadah images. Pharaoh's army and Moses's followers have a similar style of dress, not dissimilar from the wicked son (fol. 6, 7), suggesting a flexible tradition of representation of these figures. Most significantly, he is not clearly identified as a Muslim, his skin tone is nearly the same as that of the other sons in the manuscript, and his sword is the broad sword typical of the northern communities in Iberia and Western Europe, that of a Christian foot soldier.

Marc Michael Epstein stresses that the creators of these two manuscripts had 'their own agenda'. Julie Harris identifies the Rylands warrior as a stereotypical Berber warrior; she argues that due to the level of Jewish acculturation, this was a necessary shift: the Rylands Haggadah has a 'bloodthirsty, vengeful attitude with regard to the Egyptians', paralleling the anger of the wicked son.⁴³ Epstein argues that localised



Figure 9.2 The 'wicked son', London, British Library, MS Or 1404, fol. 10v (photograph: British Library).

'microcontexts' shape the individuality of these manuscripts, and he describes the picture cycle in the Rylands Haggadah as 'pre-emptively defending itself', reflecting an anxiety felt about the outward similarities with Christian images.⁴⁴ He identifies a form of distancing, which echoes the fear of coinhabitation and *extimité* that Cohen identifies in Christian representation of Jews; it is worth considering this distancing in Jewish representation of Muslims, too. The 'bloodthirsty ... attitude' that Epstein identifies in the picture cycles is also evident in the depiction of the wicked son in the Rylands Haggadah and in the Prato Haggadah, likewise produced in 1330s Barcelona.⁴⁵ The wicked son in the Prato Haggadah is a sinister figure with a sword and dagger, and holding a stick over his left shoulder, ready to fight. This figure self-consciously points a spindly finger to the illuminated word רשע [rasha] (wicked), self-defining as a threat. The manuscript is certainly 'pre-emptively defending itself'; however, the recurring theme of aggression suggests that what makes this image in the Rylands Haggadah unique is the reference to the Muslim-Jewish relationship. The aggression within the image suggests that the 'designers' of the manuscript were not just responding to the parallels with Christian art, but also re-defining their own community and defending it from being conflated with other minorities. Distance is being created between Muslims and the Jewish manuscript owners.

In fourteenth-century Aragon, a complex series of dichotomies was at play between the Christian, Muslim and Jewish communities. On the one hand, each sometimes saw the others as allies with valuable skills, who shared aspects of their faith; on the other hand, each community saw the others as enemies, competitors for power, and guilty of the bastardisation of the true religion. Non-Christian groups were often homogenised and 'Jews and Muslims were inextricably linked together in the consciousness of Christians'.⁴⁶ However, Christians also believed that these infidels could be converted, and that instigating this process would bring spiritual rewards. To categorise Jews and Muslims under the same banner was not only reductive; it also devalued and ignored all cultural as well as religious differences between them.⁴⁷ It was therefore important for Jews to demarcate themselves from Muslims. The Christians' homogenising of the subaltern groups into one group is initiated by a fear of living alongside them, *extimité*, and in fact of being similar to Jews and Muslims. The subaltern groups in the Rylands Haggadah also make all other minorities into a single group, reducing reality into a simple 'us' and 'them'.

Jewish cultural self-expression in relation to Muslims

In some parts of the Crown of Aragon, Jewish and Muslim identities were created as much in opposition to each other as in opposition to the Christian ruling majority.⁴⁸ Catalan Haggadot, unlike Castilian Haggadot, make few references to Arabic culture, despite many strong connections with Muslim territories and even though many Jews still spoke Arabic in Barcelona.⁴⁹ This may be on account of the reasonably small, mostly rural, Muslim population in some parts of the Crown of Aragon. In neighbouring Navarre, Muslims accounted for only 1% of the population.⁵⁰ In Gerona, there was only one *mudejar* family recorded in the early 1300s. However, there were many parts of Aragon with large Muslim populations: there were 175,000 Muslims living in Valencia, as a result of the thirteenth-century expansion of the Crown of Aragon into Muslim territories.⁵¹ These Muslim communities were far from strangers to the Jewish population.

In the economic, intellectual and religious spheres of exchange, Jews and Muslims had different systems of negotiation, and it would be a mistake to assume that there was a unified attitude to Muslims in the Jewish community, or vice versa.⁵² Intellectually, some Jews respected Arabic high culture, praising Arabic music and poetry, whereas Kabbalists rejected the rationalist approach indebted to Arab philosophy.⁵³ Abba Mari ben Moses of Montpellier (c. 1250–1306) offers a contemporary view from neighbouring Languedoc (Occitania) and the (Catalonian) kingdom of Mallorca; he shows respect for and affinity with the faith and spirituality of Muslims and Christians.⁵⁴ In contrast, Rabbi Solomon B. Abraham B. Adreth of Barcelona (c. 1235–1310), in his defence of the Torah and rabbinic literature in response to the Muslim author Ibn Hazam (994–1064), indicates the tension between Muslims and Jews in Barcelona at the time of the production of the Rylands Haggadah.⁵⁵

Muslim and Jewish social status

Society in Barcelona, as in the rest of Catalonia and the Crown of Aragon, was highly stratified. Following the Christian *Reconquista*, higher-class Muslims moved or converted, and only the lower classes remained, working mostly in agriculture, construction and ceramics, and becoming integrated into society.⁵⁶ Jews, on the other hand, became urbanised and, partly because of their knowledge of Arabic, some worked in areas of international diplomacy and economics. As a result, they worked among the higher classes, and it was therefore harder for them to establish support from the lower echelons of society.⁵⁷ The contrasting social and economic status of Jews and Muslims was likely to create frictions and resentment between the two groups.

Despite these differences, the legal status of Jews and Muslims was very similar. The Muslim and Jewish communities were regarded as ‘the King’s possessions’ and ‘servi camerae nostrae’, ‘servants of our chamber’, an ambiguous status between chattel and privilege, only protected by the King’s will.⁵⁸ This uniform categorisation of the two non-Christian groups denied either group supremacy over the other. Although a ‘hierarchising discourse’ existed between Christians and Muslims, and between Christians and Jews, there was no such clear hierarchical structure for interactions between the Muslim and Jewish minorities. Undefined and unstable social relations were the consequence.⁵⁹ There were outbreaks of violence in Huesca and Fraga between Muslims and Jews, and in 1391 Muslims joined Christians in persecuting Jews.⁶⁰ The violence or royal channels were the only possible ways of achieving supremacy over the other.

In the Sarajevo Haggadah, difference or superiority is manifested in terms of status and economic mobility. The covered, female Muslim Moorish servant in the Sarajevo Haggadah is seated at a lower level on the opposite side, the servant’s side, of the Passover table, creating physical distance between her and the Jewish family (Figure 9.3).⁶¹ In this manuscript, the Muslim is represented as African, with darker skin and a characteristic profile. We should not take this to be a ‘realistic’ representation. While some Muslims could have been Africans, many could have looked like the Jews themselves – and indeed like Christian Iberians.⁶² It was not unusual in contemporary Christian images for Saracens and Tartars to be depicted as African and as wearing turbans, so this image

taps into a familiar iconography.⁶³ In the image, the familiar motif of the black Saracen is contrasted with the fair-skinned Jewish family, who remain visually unmarked. The fair appearance of the Jewish family is also an ideological representation, which serves to establish a class axis along the lines of light-skinned/noble – dark-skinned/lower class. The servant is also differentiated by the colour and type of her garments: she is dressed in yellow, with a plain, full head and neck covering, whereas the Jewish family wear red and blue, with fashionable headdresses of various types. The servant's skin colour,



Figure 9.3 The Passover meal, Sarajevo Haggadah, Sarajevo, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina B–H. zem. muz. 9313 (olim 9034), fol. 64v (photograph: National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina).

dress and position associate her with those outside of this community, as was typical of Muslim servants. Similarly, the Ishmaelites in the Golden Haggadah (fol. 6v) are marked as different through their Muslim dress, though not by their skin colour.⁶⁴ The Sarajevo Haggadah has been described, perhaps a little hastily, as ‘cutting-edge’; it is claimed that the depictions of the Ishmaelites with ‘African features’ and of the female servant demonstrate the acceptance of pluralism.⁶⁵ Abraham Melamed argues that black skin was ambiguous in Jewish and Christian depictions at the time, and that the process of Othering developed much later.⁶⁶ However, I suggest that the Saracen’s characterisation as a violent aggressor in the Rylands Haggadah cannot be described as either ‘ambiguous’ or accepting, but should be seen as a direct challenge to the notions of power, hierarchy and Otherness. Similarly, associating Muslims with servitude in the Sarajevo Haggadah creates economic, geographical and class distinctions between Jews and Muslims.

In reality, being a servant involved coinhabitation, not just of the same city, but in the same house. Muslim servitude, in Jewish and Christian houses, was common in many parts of Catalonia, particularly in the southern areas, whereas Muslims were not allowed to employ Jewish or Christian servants in the Crown of Aragon.⁶⁷ Slavery and servitude therefore bring to the fore – for Jews, Muslims and Christians – cultural anxieties about the sometimes intimate relationships with other religious communities and individuals. It is this anxiety that drives the creation of cultural products upon which to deposit Otherness, and the enslaved Muslim woman inflects ‘the relationship between majority Christian and minority Jewish communities – if only by representing the negative other’.⁶⁸

Jewish narrative and cultural memory

What narrative, then, does the wicked son in the Rylands Haggadah help to construct? The formation of the Jewish community and its role within the Christian power structure shed light on this question. Catalanian Jewry was economically strong in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, after the migration of English and French Jews (after expulsions in 1290 and 1306) brought their trades and expertise to the area.⁶⁹ It was at this time that the Jewish *aljamas* (self-governing communities) across the Crown of Aragon attempted to form a centralised communal institution.⁷⁰ Although unsuccessful, their actions demonstrate the economic and political strength they themselves believed they had, and the lavish illuminated Haggadot from the area are both products of this success and a sign of Jewish political potential.

In 1320, despite the attempts by the King of Aragon to protect his Jews, the Crown of Aragon’s Jewry suffered greatly at the hands of the Shepherd crusaders (Pastoureaux) en route to confront the Muslim community.⁷¹ Crusades often led to forced baptisms.⁷² This relationship with Christians peers, but also with Christian rulers and royalty, may have resulted in confused loyalties. It is possible that the artist or patron of this manuscript desired to create distance between the Jewish community and the ruling power. Being part of the Christian world politically made the Jews partially complicit with the actions of the government. This is not to say that there were many other options open to these Jewish communities. However, the integration into the Christian body politic may also have been viewed by some as an act of betrayal. There are traces of regret in this fourteenth-century image. The wicked son as Muslim perhaps uses the image of the Other to express the Jewish community’s own guilt at

Jewish-Christian coinhabitation. The Muslim figure is a deposit for acts of negative behaviour such as betrayal, and so the Other becomes an expression of this guilt, and a shield from it. The inclusion of the Muslim wicked son echoes the hidden reality of the violence-plagued coexistence that Cohen describes. The image suggests the anxiety caused by coinhabitation, an anxiety that demands an intensification of the Otherness of the Other.

Behind the image in the Rylands Haggadah we glimpse a dialogue between two subaltern groups and the association and dis-coinhabitation of Jews and Muslims. This manuscript, and specifically the figure of the wicked son, engages with some of the anxiety and frustrations of the Jewish community due to their similar legal standing with Muslims, and expresses a loss of their Jewish identity as they are categorised as servants of the Christian king and analogous with Muslims.⁷³ However, the wicked son figure also echoes the troubling relationship between Jews and Muslims: simultaneously a friend and an enemy. He is a violent threat on the page, but he is also a son, and an important part of the Seder ritual. It is the son who rejects the community; the community does not (at first) reject him. The Muslim warrior could be superficially associated with the outbreaks of violence between Muslims and Jews mentioned above. However, it is problematic to use artistic figures to represent specific moments in history. Instead, it may be useful to consider this image as an expression of a further experience of *extimité*, namely the Jewish betrayal of Muslim communities during the *Reconquista*. Jewish allegiances in Iberia changed throughout the medieval period. Aragon's Jews were once the subjects of Muslim rule, most recently in Valencia, and were then involved in acts of diplomacy against Muslims on behalf of Christians. Poets such as Abraham Ibn Ezra and Solomon Ibn Gabirol moved to northern provinces to live in the relative safety of Christian kingdoms, taking with them Arabic traditions.⁷⁴ Similarly, Jews from Castile and Valencia worked alongside Muslims until King James I's rule, when mass subordination of Muslims took place in Valencia with, amongst others, the aid of Jewish diplomats.⁷⁵ King James used Jewish 'service men' who knew Arabic, such as Solomon and Bahye from Zaragoza or Astruc Bonsenyor of Barcelona, to move between the Muslim and Christian spheres in Valencia.⁷⁶ Was this seen within the Jewish community as betrayal of Muslims? Was it not the Jewish elite who first disregarded the relationship? Does the violent Muslim perhaps represent Jewish guilt at political violence and rejection of the Muslim community?

The passage that the wicked son figure accompanies emphasises that the story of the four sons must be retold to children: 'You shall tell your son, "It is because of this that the Lord did for me when I left Egypt"'.⁷⁷ Through this ritual, history thus becomes part of the collective memory. The ritual creates an opportunity to remember the struggles of the community and recall collective memories of recent experience and of the biblical past. In the Jewish tradition, wickedness stands for rejection and betrayal of the community, as embodied in the figure of the wicked son. This manuscript, then, may offer an opportunity to remember events that others and other manuscripts attempt to forget, and perhaps recalls the disavowed past and disavowed relationships.

The Muslim soldier in the Rylands Haggadah then becomes a highly complicated figure that could trigger a whole series of pejorative and positive associations in the eyes of the viewer. One such association is a sense of betrayal at the Muslim violence enacted upon Jews; hence the role of the wicked son who rejects the Jewish

community. A second association could be with the Jewish betrayal of the Muslim community through diplomacy. Alternatively, the violence of the son figure and the passivity of the servant in the Sarajevo Haggadah both create distance between the Muslim and the Jewish community; this distancing process attempts to recoup identity which is lost during homogenisation. It is also possible that all of these associations combined to generate in the manuscripts' users feelings of betrayal, regret and loss of their own past and also of past relationships. The Muslim warrior figure is also the wicked son and becomes the ultimate trope for Otherness and dis-coinhabitation.

Conclusion

What, or more importantly, whom can the Rylands Haggadah represent? It is a luxury Jewish festival manuscript only affordable to the very elite, which draws on a range of Christian and European visual sources. The manuscript reflects tensions surrounding identity and coinhabitation in the 'secular' and 'religious' spheres in 1330s Catalonia.

Elka Klein, in her study based on charters from Barcelona, had set out to prove that *convivencia* (a peaceful and harmonious existence between the religious groups of medieval Iberia) did not exist, but in fact found the opposite; in day-to-day life, there were relationships of trust between different religious groups, and violence was rare.⁷⁸ She also found that, although religion had an important place, it occupied a different sphere to that of trade and exchange, which allowed for day-to-day interaction and cohesion between the communities. Identity is constructed in relation to the Other, and therefore is dependent on how 'other' the Other is: 'a difference that is almost the same but not quite'.⁷⁹ In the Rylands Haggadah, fear of coinhabiting with the Other in the past and the present is manifest in the image of the Muslim warrior. The warrior represents the loss of relationships and also the loss of the self, whereas the marginalia demonstrate hybridity, a process through which cultural loss occurs as one culture mixes with another. This suggests that difference is less tangible in secular exchange, and therefore harder to express artistically. The secular and religious pressures upon Jews in Barcelona created a series of paradoxes, as in different spheres the Other becomes more or less other.

The spheres of society and culture rely on the separation of space within the present time. However, memories exist outside of the restrictions of time. Bhabha writes, 'The discourse of the minority reveals the insurmountable ambivalence that structures the *equivocal* movement of historical time'.⁸⁰ For Bhabha, the ruling power has a cultural authority that dictates a version of events over the minority. The minority's cultural production therefore reflects the unfixed nature of history and also memory. The minority discourse, in this case the margins, is, according to Bhabha, where the majority discourse is challenged, not with a counter-narrative but with a protest against the rigid narrative of the establishment. The 'insurmountable ambivalence' towards the minority culture has such power that it structures the discourse in which the minority can exist. In the manuscript, the Muslim warrior and the figure hunting hares with his dogs are ambiguous and outside of the specifics of time or space; they are indicators of a 'minority discourse'. The page is structured in such a way that the minority discourses can only exist on the edge of the pages, outside of the specific traditions of the established centre. These images resist being fixed or defined, and like the narratives Cohen describes, the manuscript carries evidence of dis-coinhabitation but also of coinhabitation with other groups. In the manuscript, hybridity in 'secular'

spheres acknowledges coinhabitation, while the Muslim figure instead promotes dis-coinhabiting and division along religious lines. The combination reveals active Jewish decision-making about forgetting and remembering. The memories and associations that are invoked by the aggressive Muslim figure and artistic hybridity, although ambiguous, must evoke past and present relationships with other groups, including the attempt to define and locate the 'intimate stranger', the warrior figure.

The Rylands Haggadah demonstrates the capacity to understand some singular voices within a minority, voices of concern and also of active involvement. There needs to be a further analysis of the secular and religious spheres of life and their interactions, if we are to understand not just the dichotomies within Aragonese relationships, but also the ways in which *convivencia* operated in the lived experience of those who owned and read the manuscript.

Notes

- 1 Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Rylands Heb. Ms 6 (hereafter Rylands Haggadah). See *The Rylands Haggadah: A Medieval Sephardi Masterpiece in facsimile*; introduction, notes on the illuminations, transcription and English translation by Raphael Loewe (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988).
- 2 The Muslim-Jewish relationship in 1330s Aragon and the dynamics within the Jewish minority are yet to be treated fully by scholarship. Equally, very little is known about the experience of Jewish women, children or lower classes from the period. It is possible that this manuscript was owned by a woman. The inclusion of wedding poems, unusual in a Haggadah, makes it possible that, like books of hours, such manuscripts were presented in the context of marriage customs. On women as owners of Haggadah codices, see Julie Harris, 'Love in the Land of Goshen: Haggadah, History, and the Making of British Library, MS Oriental 2737', *Gesta* 52.2 (2013), 161–80. This role of the manuscript may be supported by the prominent placement of a well-dressed young couple at table on fol. 19v. Epstein argues that these manuscripts were used at home, Kogman-Appel that these manuscripts had a function at home and in the synagogue, and Freehof suggests that they were used in the synagogue, to pray on behalf of those that should be praying at home. See Solomon Freehof, 'Home Rituals and the Spanish Synagogue', in *Beauty in Holiness: Studies in Jewish Customs and Ceremonial Art*, ed. Joseph Guttman (New York: Ktav, 1970), 501–13; Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot from Medieval Spain: Biblical Imagery and the Passover Holiday* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 21–2; Marc Michael Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah: Art, Narrative, and Religious Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Benjamin Gampel, 'Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval Iberia', in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick and Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: George Braziller, 1992), 11–38, esp. 5, 11.
- 3 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography', in *Subaltern Studies IV: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. Ranajit Guha (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 330–63, at 339.
- 4 Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 189; Eva Frojmovic, 'Jewish Scribes and Christian Illuminators: Interstitial Encounters and Cultural Negotiation', in *Between Judaism and Christianity: Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 281–306, esp. 28; Maya Soifer, 'Beyond Convivencia: Critical Reflections of the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1.1 (2009), 19–35, esp. 29–30.
- 5 Mitchell B. Merback, 'Introduction', in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Anti-Semitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mitchell B. Merback (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 1–29, esp. 9.
- 6 Ross Brann, *Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh and Twelfth-Century Islamic Spain* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), 119–59.

- 7 Sarajevo, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina B–H. zem. muz. 9313 (olim 9034).
- 8 It is problematic to place this manuscript exactly, but in the absence of persuasive counter-evidence, the manuscript will be assumed to originate from Barcelona. Narkiss placed the manuscript in Barcelona for stylistic reasons. Similarly, Dodi suggests that the Golden Haggadah and the Rylands Haggadah use the Catalanian prayers for dew. Kogman-Appel suggests that many illuminated Haggadot were produced between 1290 and 1340, with the Rylands Haggadah; London, British Library, MS. Or. 1404 (British Library Haggadah); Sarajevo, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, (Sarajevo Haggadah) and New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, MS Misc. 9478 (Prato Haggadah) being produced in the 1330s. See Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot*, 24–5, 43–4; Amos Dodi, *Studies in the Linguistic Tradition of Spanish Jews Before the Expulsion* (Beer Sheva: Ben Gurion University of the Negev, 2000), 24; Joseph Gutmann, *Hebrew Manuscript Painting* (New York: George Braziller, 1978), 66 argues that the Rylands Haggadah was illuminated in Valencia; Bezalel Narkiss, Aliza Cohen-Mushlin, and Anat Tcherikover, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles*, I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 96–8.
- 9 The technique of micrography is uniquely Jewish: minute writing forms the outline of the designs in the margins of the page. This text is very difficult to read as it would involve physically turning the page and good eyesight; the inclusion of micrography is not unusual for a manuscript of this type.
- 10 Only Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Science, Kaufmann Collection, MS A 422 (Kaufmann Haggadah) and the British Library Haggadah have such a limited picture cycle.
- 11 Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008).
- 12 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), xiii–xiv.
- 13 Cohen, *Of Giants*, 3.
- 14 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, ‘The Future of the Jews of York’, in *Christians and Jews in Medieval England: Narratives and Contexts for the York 1190 Massacre*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones and Sethina Watson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), 278–93, esp. 281. Cohen discusses William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, Book IV, chapters 9 and 10 about the 1190 Jewish massacre in York. Prado-Vilar also describes this process in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, arguing that for political reasons, Christian suffering is paralleled with the suffering of the ‘Others’, representing human commonality between the separate communities. Francisco Prado-Vilar, ‘The Gothic Anamorphic Gaze: Regarding the Worth of Others’, in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 67–100, at 71–5, 78, 80.
- 15 Cohen, ‘The Future of the Jews of York’, 282–3, 286, 290, 292.
- 16 Alongside the wise and wicked sons (fol. 23r) to be discussed in detail, these are: a servant pouring wine for the Kiddush (fol. 20r), a celebrant ritually reclining with a bowl (fol. 21v, beginning of the Haggadah proper), R. Eleazar (fol. 22v), R. Yossi (fol. 28r), R. Eliezer and R. Akiba (fol. 28v), Rabban Gamaliel (fol. 30v).
- 17 Graham Huggan, *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins* (London: Routledge, 2001).
- 18 Katrin Kogman-Appel, ‘The Sephardic Picture Cycles and the Rabbinic Tradition: Continuity and Innovation in Jewish Iconography’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 60.4 (1997), 451–81, esp. 480–81.
- 19 Fols 27v, 29r, 33v.
- 20 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994, 2010), 19.
- 21 Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art Between Islam and Christianity: The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 310. Dominicans were depicted as hunting dogs (*domini canes*, dogs of the Lord) in the Spanish Chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence. See Jerrilyn D. Dodds, ‘Hunting in the Borderlands’, *Medieval Encounters*, 14 (2008), 267–302, esp. 270. For more on the Dominicans, see Jane Gerber, *Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), 103.
- 22 British Library Add. 14761, fol. 26v. See <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=19109&CollID=27&NStart=14761>; Marc Michael Epstein,

- Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Art and Literature* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 1–15, 36.
- 23 Spivak, 'Subaltern Studies', 339.
 - 24 Katrin Kogman-Appel, 'Jewish Art and Non-Jewish Culture', *Jewish History* 15 (2001), 187–234, at 218. Padua Bible: London, British Library, MS. Add 15277. Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 14, dates the manuscript to the late fourteenth century.
 - 25 J. Lee Shneidman, *The Rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire 1200–1350*, vol. 2 (London: University of London Press, 1970), 347, 383, 388.
 - 26 Shneidman, *The Rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire*, 321, 350–1, 388.
 - 27 Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 48.
 - 28 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 10, 225.
 - 29 Kogman-Appel argues that the Catalan Haggadot such as the Rylands Haggadah and the Golden Haggadah are heavily influenced by rabbinic commentaries adapted from Christian imagery. Kogman-Appel, 'Jewish Art and Non-Jewish Culture', 189, 204.
 - 30 'The borders of the nation, Kristeva claims, are constantly faced with a double temporality: the process of identity constituted by historical sedimentation (the pedagogical); and the loss of identity in the signifying process of cultural identification (the performative)'. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 219.
 - 31 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 219–20.
 - 32 Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot*, 127; Georges Jehel, 'Jews and Muslims in Medieval Genoa: From the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10.1 (1995), 131–2.
 - 33 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 220–1.
 - 34 For other depictions of the son, see Mendel Metzger, *La Haggada Enluminee* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 19–35, 211–19. For a discussion of the four sons, see Mira Friedman, 'The Four Sons of the Haggadah and the Ages of Man', *Journal of Jewish Art* 11 (1985), 16–40, esp. 26–7.
 - 35 The actual Deuteronomy 6:20 text reads: 'When thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying: "What mean the testimonies, and the statutes, and the ordinances, which the Lord our God hath commanded you [plural]?"' The Haggadah has changed 'you [plural]' to 'us', in order to generate the contrast between the wise son and the wicked son.
 - 36 Ex 12:26: 'And it shall come to pass, when your children shall say unto you: "What mean ye by this service?"'
 - 37 Ex 13:8: 'And thou shalt tell thy son in that day, saying: "It is because of that which the Lord did for me when I came forth out of Egypt"'.
 - 38 'And it shall be when thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying: "What is this?" that thou shalt say unto him: "By strength of hand the Lord brought us out from Egypt, from the house of bondage"'.
 - 39 Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 75–6.
 - 40 Fols 22v, 28r, 28v, 30v.
 - 41 Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb*, 68, 75.
 - 42 London, British Library MS Or 1404. British Library digital Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=19258&CollID=96&NStart=1404> (accessed 19 May 2016). See George Margoliuth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1905), 198–200. For a discussion of which manuscript was produced first, see Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot*, 96–7; Katrin Kogman-Appel, 'The Picture Cycles of the Rylands Haggadah and the So-Called Brother Haggadah and their Relation to the Western Tradition of Old Testament Illustration', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library, Manchester* 79.2 (1997), 3–20, at 18; Loewe, *The Rylands Haggadah*, 16–17.
 - 43 Julie A. Harris, 'Good Jews, Bad Jews, and No Jews at All – Ritual Imagery and Social Standards in the Catalan Haggadot', Church, State, Vellum, and Stone: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams, ed. Therese Martin and Julie A. Harris (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 275–96, 285–6; Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah*, 228.
 - 44 Epstein, *The Medieval Haggadah*, 231, 233, 265–7.

- 45 New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, MS Misc. 9478 fol. 5b. Online catalogue, <https://jtsa.edu/prebuilt/exhib/prato/index.html>; http://www.jtslibrarytreasures.org/Prato_Haggadah/ (accessed 8 March 2012); Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadah*, 24–5.
- 46 Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 164; John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 282–3; Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 165–6.
- 47 See Pamela Patton, *Art of Estrangement: Redefining Jews in Reconquest Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 103–32.
- 48 David Nirenberg, 'Muslim-Jewish Relations in the Fourteenth-century Crown of Aragon', *Viator* 24 (1993), 249–68. The Marian tradition partially bridged the void between Christians and Muslims through the shared figure of Mary. Similarly, Muslims acknowledged Jesus as a prophet and could be united with the Christians against Jews, the killers of Jesus. However the animosity between Muslims and Christians should not be ignored; Muslims were territorial enemies of the Christian kingdoms in Spain and in the Holy Land. See Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Prado-Vilar, 'The Gothic Anamorphic Gaze'. In Islamic-ruled Iberia, the Jewish elite minority and the Muslim majority had 'shifting and ambivalent relations'. See Ross Brann, *Power in the Portrayal*, 1–21, esp. 21.
- 49 Gad Freudenthal, 'Arabic and Latin Cultures as Resources for the Hebrew Translation Movement: Comparative Considerations, both Quantitative and Qualitative', in *Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures*, ed. G. Freudenthal (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 74–105.
- 50 David Nirenberg, 'Muslims in Christian Iberia, 1000–1526: Varieties of Mudejar Experience', in *The Medieval World*, ed. Peter Lineham and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2001), 60–76, esp. 62, 64.
- 51 Nirenberg, 'Muslims in Christian Iberia', 63.
- 52 Elena Lourie and David Nirenberg separate the intellectual and social spheres of interaction between Jews and Muslims. See Elena Lourie, *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Medieval Aragon* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990), 72; Nirenberg, 'Muslim-Jewish Relations', 251. For more on the relationship between Muslim and Jewish intellectuals, see Steven M. Wasserstrom, 'Jewish Muslim Relations in the Context of Andalusian Emigration', in *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 69–87, esp. 76–8.
- 53 Eli Gutwirth, 'Hispano-Jewish Attitudes to the Moors in the Fifteenth Century', *Sefarad* 49.2 (1989), 237–61, esp. 249; Nirenberg, 'Muslim-Jewish Relations', 250.
- 54 Greg Stern, *Philosophy and Rabbinic Culture: Jewish Interpretation and Controversy in Medieval Languedoc* (London: Routledge, 2009), 91.
- 55 Bezalel Naor, *Ma'amar Al Yishma'el: Rabbi Solomon Ben Abraham Ibn Adret, with an Introduction and Notes* (Spring Valley: Orot, 2008), 3–4.
- 56 Nirenberg, 'Muslims in Christian Iberia', 64. For a detailed examination of scholarship on Mudejar experience, see Robert I. Burns, 'Mudejar Parallel Societies: Anglophone Historiography and Spanish Context, 1975–2000', in *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. Meyerson and English, 91–124.
- 57 Nirenberg, 'Muslims in Christian Iberia', 64; Asunción Blasco Martínez, 'Aragon: Christians, Jews and Muslims Between Coexistence and Conflict', in *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20–25th October 2002*, ed. Christoph Cluse (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 139–50.
- 58 Christoph Cluse, 'Concluding Remarks', in *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Cluse, 459–60; on Jewish and Muslim legal status in Aragon, see Lourie, *Crusade and Colonisation*, 1, 55, 75; Yom Tov Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry: Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213–1327* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1997), 10–11.
- 59 Nirenberg, 'Muslim-Jewish Relations', 266. Harris, 'Good Jews', 285 notes that Berbers were treated as second-class citizens by Arabs and Jews in Andalusia. It is striking that a Berber is chosen even though Jews and Muslims enjoyed the same legal status in Aragon, as if to emphasise the distance between the learned Wise Son and the uneducated Wicked Son.

- 60 Nirenberg, 'Muslim-Jewish Relations', 267.
- 61 Further research is necessary into her head covering and possible associations with the Marian tradition and comparisons with the Cantigas de Santa Maria.
- 62 Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot*, 104–5. In Midrash Rabbah, Genesis 36:7 can be interpreted in such a way that the 'wicked son' is depicted as black. See Helen Rosenau, 'Notes on the Illuminations of the Spanish Haggadah in the John Rylands Library', *Bulletin of The John Rylands Library, Manchester* 36 (1953–54), 468–83, at 471: 'I curse your fourth son [...] You have prevented me from doing something in the dark, therefore your seed will be ugly and dark-skinned'. Muslims were known to be amongst the ranks of the Catalanian army and featured in Christian literature, often envisioned as military opponents with Jews as theological opponents. See Dwayne E. Carpenter, 'Social Perceptions and Literary Portrayal: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Spanish Literature', in *Convivencia*, ed. Mann, Glick and Dodds, 61–81.
- 63 Michael Camille reveals how both Muslims and Jews were identified as idolatrous in (Christian) theological disputes, literature and art. Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, 152–3, 167–70; Stern, *Philosophy and Rabbinic Culture*, 85.
- 64 Kogman-Appel, *Illuminated Haggadot*, 105. For more on Jewish dress of the period, see Thérèse and Mendel Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages: Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collection Ltd., 1982), 111–12. See Julie Harris, 'Polemical Images in the Golden Haggadah (BL Add, MS 7210)', *Medieval Encounters* 8.2 (2002), 105–22.
- 65 Marianne David and Javier Muñoz-Basols, 'The Sarajevo Haggadah: A Cultural Metaphor for Diaspora Studies', in *Defining and Re-Defining Diaspora: From Theory to Reality*, ed. Marianne David and Javier Muñoz-Basols (Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2011): 251–70, www.inter-disciplinary.net/wp-content/uploads/.../basolspaper.pdf (accessed 1 July 2010), 1–17, esp. 7, 10.
- 66 Abraham Melamed, *The Image of the Black in Jewish Culture: A History of the Other*, trans. Betty Sigler Rozen (London: Routledge, 2010), 157–9, 161, 164–5, 186, 193–5.
- 67 Decisions were made locally about how to treat slaves and servants, and whether they could work on the Sabbath. In Iberia, the gentile servants employed for work on the Sabbath were 'set free' on Friday so that all work carried out was not under instruction but a personal choice for their own benefit. See Jacob Katz, *The Shabbes Goy: A Study in Halakhic Flexibility*, trans. Yoel Lerner (Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 49, 50–1; Robert Ignatius Burns, *Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 110–11; Stephen P. Bench, 'From Prizes of War to Domestic Merchandise: The Changing Face of Slavery in Catalonia and Aragon, 1000–1300', *Viator* 25 (1994), 63–93, at 86.
- 68 Rebecca Lynn Winer, *Women, Wealth and Community in Perpignan, C. 1250–1300: Christians, Jews and Enslaved Muslims in a Medieval Mediterranean Town* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 135, 156.
- 69 Blasco Martínez, 'Aragon: Coexistence and Conflict', 145; Daniele Iancu-Agou, 'Provence: Jewish Settlement, Mobility and Culture', in *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Cluse 175–89, esp. 184, 185.
- 70 Blasco Martínez, 'Aragon: Coexistence and Conflict', 145.
- 71 It was thought the attacks on Jewish *aljamas* were also motivated by economic factors. The following year, lepers and Jews in France were accused of poisoning water; this rumour spread throughout southern France and into Aragon. Nirenberg argues that Jews were more assimilated and accepted in Aragon. Gerber, *Jews of Spain*, 113; David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 123.
- 72 There is evidence of Ashkenazi Jews killing their children to avoid conversion to Christianity, showing the extent of the animosity between Jews and Christians elsewhere in Europe. Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christian-Jewish Relations 1000–1300* (Edinburgh: Pearson, 2011), 161.
- 73 Blasco Martínez, 'Aragon: Coexistence and Conflict', 147.
- 74 Peter Cole, *The Dream of the Poem: Hebrew Poetry from Muslim and Christian Spain, 950–1492* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 74, 173.
- 75 Robert Ignatius Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 17; Burns, *Islam Under the Crusaders*, 253,

- 254; Esperanza Alfonso, *Islamic Culture Through Jewish Eyes* (London: Routledge, 2008), 81.
- 76 Burns, *Islam Under the Crusaders*, 253, 254.
- 77 Loewe, *The Rylands Haggadah*, 32; fol. 23b.
- 78 Elka Klein, *Jews, Christian Society and Royal Power in Medieval Barcelona* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009), 190.
- 79 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, ix, 45, 86, 94.
- 80 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 225–6.

10 Neighbouring and *mixta* in thirteenth-century Ashkenaz

Eva Frojmovic

In a 2009 lecture at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, Jeffrey Cohen asked: ‘What happens *between* Christian and Jew, in that interspace where temporal, cultural, geographic, theological partitions break down?’ He showed that it is possible to glimpse, even in seemingly recalcitrant texts, ‘narratives of coinhabitation more vivacious and complex than the reductive, hostile, and historically frozen representations at their surfaces’.¹ The value of attending to coinhabitation or neighbouring/proximity, he suggested, is that ‘Jewish-Christian coinhabitation can open a dialogic and reciprocal space (or network) where all identities are susceptible to change ... a heterodox space born of proximity...’. My aim here is to puzzle out ‘a more intricate story of coinhabitation, of lived spaces between Christian and Jew where orthodox partition breaks down into heterodox quotidian praxis’.²

It is a story of a passage from cultural mimicry to cultural translation made possible by a dialogue in the everyday between minoritised Jewish patrons and scribes on the one hand, and Christian illuminators on the other. This dialogue involved common speech (most likely in the emerging local Franconian vernacular, one of the components of Middle High German) uttered at the invisible interstices between *Latinitas* and Hebrew text culture – mutual attempts to learn ‘the language of the monks’ (Latin) and the ‘holy language’ (Hebrew). And it also involved an act of cultural negotiation and translation. So a Christian illuminator learned something about Hebrew letters (which way was up, and how to shape them) and about the taboos and sensitivities of his Jewish interlocutor. But pushing my argument further, I will reconsider the well-known interdiction against anthropomorphic imagery in Ashkenazi illuminated manuscripts: my view is that it was not a pre-given prohibition, but actually took form as a taboo during this process of dialogue. The alleged ban against anthropomorphic images took its characteristically Ashkenazi form – the use of human-animal hybrids and other methods of concealing the human face – in the course of Jewish-Christian interaction. In other words, it was through speaking and working with Christians, rather than by heeding pre-existing norms, that Jewish patrons came to eschew, mask, alienate, and hybridise anthropomorphic imagery. So this study is of that unstable in-between space of cultural negotiation, or ‘that interspace where temporal, cultural, geographic, theological partitions break down’, that shaped (inter-)subjectivities. As Stuart Hall said about Black British and Caribbean cultural performance:

Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past ... Cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made within the discourses of history and culture. Not an essence but

a *positioning*³ ... [Identity is] constituted, not outside but within representation ... not as a second-order mirror held up to reflect what already exists, but as that form of representation which is able to constitute us as new kinds of subjects, and thereby enable us to discover places from which to speak.⁴

Hall's point, vis-à-vis a Derridean play of *différance*, is that identification is not merely arbitrary, but can also constitute a political (self-)positioning: 'Hence, there is always a politics of identity, a politics of position, which has no absolute guarantee in an unproblematic, transcendental "law of origin"'.⁵

Instead of focusing on the chimera of a pre-existing identity, I will emphasise encounters, neighbouring and proximation (Cohen's terms) as the vehicles of new forms of self-positioning. This self-positioning occurs precisely in the 'lived spaces between Christian and Jew where orthodox partition breaks down into heterodox quotidian praxis',⁶ making it possible for Jewish patrons to commission works that may have been controversial in their own communities, even 'tainted' by proximity to, or neighbouring with, Christian image practices, and hence requiring strategies of difference. This unstable identity, already impure because dialogically constructed, could only be learned in dialogue with an Other – a dialogue that occurred as Jews crossed cultural as well as physical thresholds by entering Christian painters' workshops in the first place. This dialogue was made possible by new patterns of production in the thirteenth century: Christian lay illuminators' workshops flourished in urban centres and as itinerant businesses, while at the same time Jewish scribes organised book production in increasingly professionalised family businesses. These parallel developments – professionalisation of Jewish scribes and access to urban lay illuminators' workshops – worked in tandem. It is this collaboration across the ideologically policed boundaries of communities that ultimately gave rise to the phenomenon of the 'zoomorphic' *mixta* as the normative representational code in Hebrew book culture between 1236 and 1348.

This essay will be devoted to theorising the transition between two illuminated books made for one Jewish patron by different scribes and workshops. I propose to trace three steps in this transition, all happening within a very few years. The first step was taken when a Jewish patron engaged a Christian artist: the patron's intention was to imitate the socio-cultural trappings of aristocratic Christianity – not as a 'faith' but as a performance of status.⁷ This form of imitation of status symbols might be called mimicry in the sense in which Homi Bhabha used it.⁸ Paradoxically, while mimicry calls for a complete 'becoming like', it is nevertheless partial, 'almost the same but not quite', in Homi Bhabha's formulation, based on Samuel Weber's reading of Freud:

colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*. Which is to say that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an *ambivalence*; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference.⁹

This ambivalence described by Bhabha often results in a subversion of the thing mimicked, precisely because of an indeterminacy with which mimicry is 'stricken':

Mimicry is thus the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as it visualizes power. Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance

which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power ... and poses an immanent threat to both 'normalized' knowledges and disciplinary powers.¹⁰

Although the relationship between the Jewish minority and the Christian majority in medieval southern Germany is not strictly speaking a colonial one, Bhabha's insights into mimicry's double articulation make visible precisely what was so problematic about this first step of asking a Christian workshop to illuminate a Hebrew manuscript. In a second step, the initially unproblematic figures were defaced, signalling the limits to mimicry and a rejection of it. The third step involves the invention of a new, 'non-idolatrous' mode of representation, by means of hybrid and monstrous figures. These figures figure doubly – on the one hand, they figure a strategic, critical hybridity, a new self-positioning as Jewish vis-à-vis a hegemonic image culture; on the other, they figure an ambivalence about the purity of one's own identity. My contention is that these illuminated books engage in forms of *translatio*, that is cultural translation, transfer, and rewriting/re-inscription.¹¹ In this process of re-inscription across the boundaries of Christian image culture (but is Jewish image culture in thirteenth-century Europe ever quite outside of Christian image culture?), the Christian 'Old Testament' images are modified, defaced and turned into hybrids.

Between 1232 and 1238 a patron named Joseph ben Moses, probably a wealthy layman from Ulm (Swabia) attracted to Würzburg by the rapid growth of that community, commissioned two large-format and lavishly illuminated codices in Hebrew: the complete Bible with Targum (Aramaic paraphrase) and Masorah (grammatical and lexicographic annotation), and a biblical commentary compilation (based on Rashi and his school, but also including recent German glosses). The nature of these texts suggests strongly that Joseph ben Moses was a layman, for these texts were the staple of basic Jewish literacy and piety, not scholarly rabbinic works of law. The indications of use – marginal annotations – come from a later period (judging by the script). These books were not (at least not initially) school-room books. They are splendid, costly copies, indicating a wealthy householder able to acquire, and keen to bequeath to his descendants, visible signs of both status and piety.

The commentary is dated first, in the year 4993 since the creation of the world, i.e. between September 1232 and September 1233, and signed by the Würzburg scribe Salomon ben Samuel (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Hebr. 5/I and II). Originally a single volume of nearly 500 large folios, it would have served to showcase its owner's devotion to traditional learning. The backbone of this compilation is the (by then classic) commentary of Rashi (RaShI – Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac, of Troyes, d. 1105); it is enriched by the inclusion of comments from his followers, and glosses by German scholars, all the way down to the scribe's own time. What we have is thus both a vademecum of exegesis and a dynamic text captured at a transitory moment by a creative compiler. Solomon ben Samuel's elaborate double colophon also gestures towards a cultivation of learning. This colophon's middle part contains a messianic prayer full of learned allusions.¹² Nevertheless, the patron's choice reflects a ritualised performance of piety rather than an active participation in the Würzburg Yeshivah: at that academy, the emphasis was on Talmud study and elucidation, as well as on the study of mystical texts.¹³ The commentary text, arranged in accordance with the liturgical use of the Hebrew Bible, points to an environment of bible study in its communal setting. This liturgical/communal arrangement is reflected in the structure of the illumination cycle, whose initial word panels cross-reference to the major

and minor liturgical divisions of the biblical text that the commentary text refers to (Figures 10.1–10.4).

The real novelty of this manuscript as a material object lay in the initial word panels illuminated with biblical narratives. Jewish patrons had not previously commissioned manuscripts illuminated with narrative images. There were drawn illustrations in the form of micrography (i.e. text written in the form of ornamental or narrative images shaped out of lines of tiny lettering).¹⁴ But the use of painted narrative imagery was unprecedented. The set was never completed, but the empty spaces indicate that consistency was sought. The five books of the Torah, the weekly synagogal readings



Figures 10.1–10.3 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. Hebr. 5/1, fol. 18v, 21v, and 47v: Binding of Isaac; Isaac on his deathbed, Esau bringing his quarry, Jacob escaping; Moses and Elders. Single column initial word panels relating to the weekly bible readings ‘Chaye Sarah’, ‘Toledot’, and ‘Va-ayra’. (photographs: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München).



Figure 10.4 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. Hebr. 5/2, fol. 209v: Double column initial word panel at the beginning of the commentary to the book of Daniel: the three youths and their protector in the fiery oven, King Nebuchadnezzar and his soldiers; the adoration of the golden idol (photograph: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München).

from them (Figures 10.1, 10.2 and 10.3), and the historical and prophetic books (Figure 10.4) were all to have been prefaced with narrative/historiated initial word panels; the initial words and the text endings of the weekly Haftarat (non-pentateuchal/prophetic passages complementing the pentateuchal ones) are marked in decorated initial words. In addition, a full-page illumination of the Menorah (seven-branched candelabrum, see Exodus 25:31–40) may have been based on a didactic drawing originating in Rashi's school. That the painters were not Jews is evidenced by a double guidance system: Latin instructions for the illuminator specified the subjects (subsequently erased and now mostly undecipherable, but clearly in Latin), and Hebrew letter templates guided the painter (Figure 10.2). Despite the guidance, however, the golden initial words are flawed, especially when compared with the wonderful penmanship of the scribe Solomon ben Samuel.¹⁵ These guidance notes are the material traces of dialogue and cultural translation.

A few years later, Joseph ben Moses, this time specified as originating 'from "Ulmna"', i.e. probably Ulm, commissioned a complete Hebrew Bible (Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana B 30–2 Inf).¹⁶ The Pentateuch concludes with two colophons, one by the main scribe who wrote the consonantal biblical text and the Aramaic paraphrase, and one by the vocaliser who also added the marginal Masorah. The scribe Jacob ben Samuel (related to the Würzburg scribe Solomon ben Samuel?) signed the first colophon on 10 January 1236.¹⁷ Two years later, in January 1238 (only the month of Shevat is specified, which corresponds roughly to January), the vocaliser (specialist scribe who added the Hebrew vowel signs) and masorete (specialist copyist of Masorah, often in tiny lettering) Joseph ben Kalonymos, who is also known as a liturgical poet, signed his share of the work.¹⁸ This time, a different illuminators' workshop was engaged, again very accomplished, whose work is not otherwise known (Figures 10.5–10.8). Its elegant and expressive, if largely conservative, style fits into the profile of production known across Franconia, the Upper Rhine and Swabia during the 1220s and the 1230s. All twenty-four books of this Bible open with illuminated initial word panels, some of which are narrative-allegorical (Figures 10.5–10.7). In addition, two



Figure 10.5 Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana B. 30 Inf., fol. 1v: Initial word panel to the book of Genesis, detail: Adam and Eve with face covered by hair (photograph: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana – Milano/De Agostini Picture Library).

Figure 10.6 Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana B. 30 Inf., fol. 102r: Initial word panel to the book of Leviticus: Binding of Isaac (photograph: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana – Milano/De Agostini Picture Library).



הדברים אשר דבר משה
אל כל ישראל בעבר ה
הירדן במדבר בערבה
מול סוּת כּוֹן פּאָרֶז וּבֶזֶן
הַפֶּל וּלְכוּ וְחַגְרֵת וְדִי
וְחֵזֶק אֶלֶיךָ פִּתְגָמֵי אֵל
דַּמְלִיל מִשֶּׁשׁ עִם כָּל
יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּעֶבְרָא דִּירֵדְנָא
אִיבֵחַ יִתְחַזֵּן עַל דְּחֶזֶק
בְּמִדְבָּרָא עַל דְּרִאגֻזֻז
בְּמִישְׁרָא לְקַבֵּל יָסֵד
סִטָּה כְּפֶאֱרֵי דְאֶתְפֵּלֵס
עַל מַנָּה לְחַיִּיתֵיהּ דֵּא
דְּרִאגֻזֻז עַל בְּסֶרְאוּעַ
וְעַל דְּעֶבְדֵּי עֵיגֵל דְּרִחֵהּ
אַחֵר עֶשְׂרֵי יוֹם מִחֶרֶב
דִּרְדֵּי הָרִשְׁעִי עַד קֵץ
קִרְשֵׁי בְּרַגְמֵי מַהֲלֵי חֶרֶב
עֶשְׂרֵי יוֹמִין מִחֶרֶב
אִירַח טוֹרָא דְּשִׁיעִיר
עַד רִקְסָא גְּאִוְוִיחֵיהּ
בְּאִרְבַּעִים שָׁנָה כְּעֶשְׂרִי
עֶשְׂרֵי שָׁנָה לֹחַ
לְחֵדֶשׁ דְּרֵי מִשְׁחָא אֶל
כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּל אִשָּׁר

Figure 10.7 Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana B. 30 Inf., fol. 182v: Initial word panel to the book of Deuteronomy: Moses receiving the second set of tablets (photograph: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana – Milano/De Agostini Picture Library).

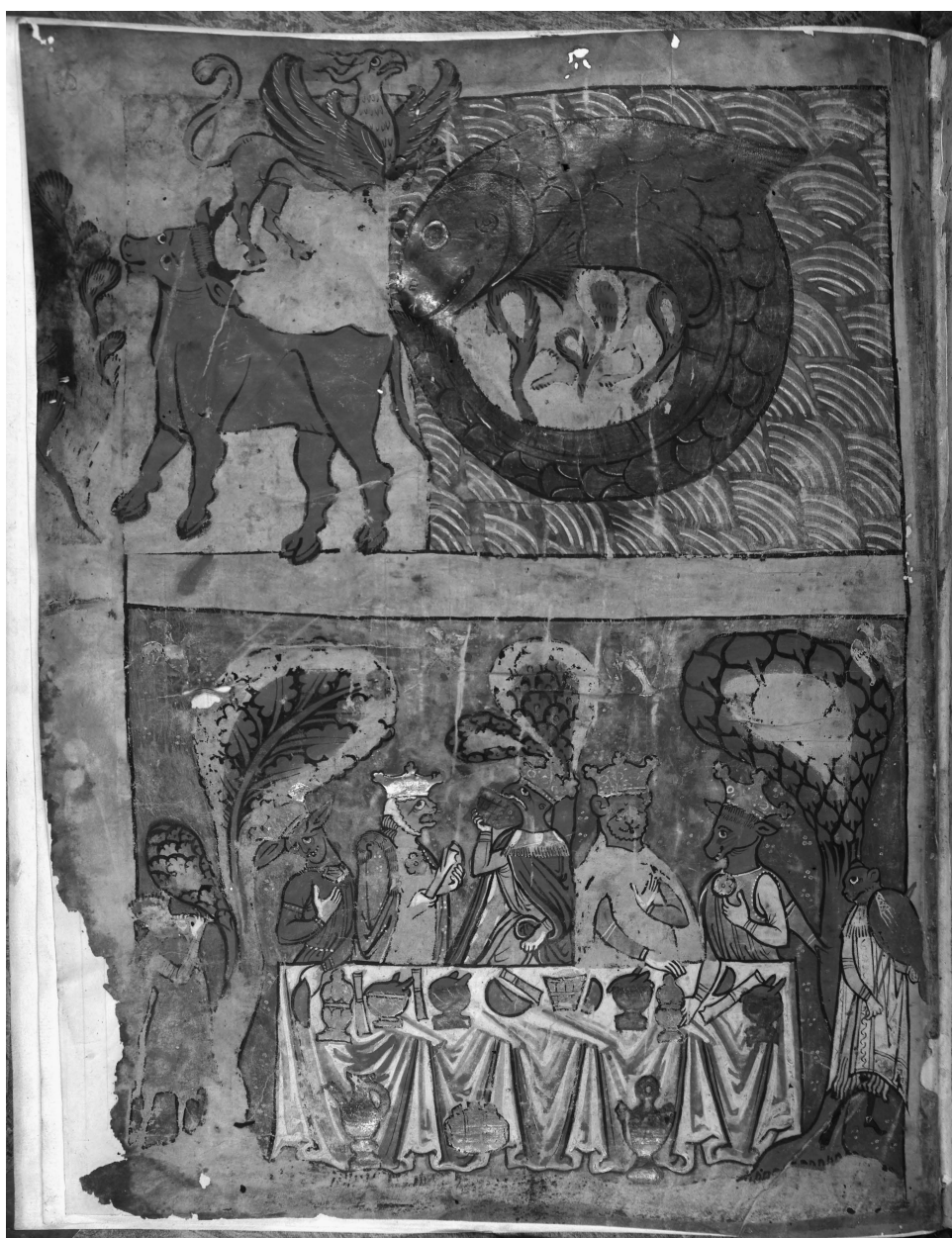


Figure 10.8 Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana B. 32 Inf., fol. 136r: Final page of the manuscript: Leviathan, Behemoth and Ziz; Messianic banquet (photograph: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana – Milano/De Agostini Picture Library).

miniatures emphasise the (messianic) End: at the end of the book of Ruth (fol. 2v), the arrival of King David (Ruth's descendant) is adumbrated. And uniquely, at the end of the final volume, an apocryphal-midrashic apocalyptic double page scene that forms a kind of continuation or fulfilment of the redemptive scenario implied at the end of the book of Chronicles: the planets rejoice among the four creatures seen by Ezekiel in his vision; Leviathan, Behemoth and Ziz engage in apocalyptic battle, and the Just feast in Paradise (Figure 10.8). Although modelled on the layout of the picture quires prefacing Latin Psalters, this double-page spread, coming as it does at the end of the Bible, nevertheless follows a very different temporality – one that staked a claim to completing the Bible's narrative in a culturally specific way, in polemical dissonance with Christian visions of Apocalypse, Judgement and Second Coming.

Yet the most salient difference between the 1232/3 biblical commentary and the 1236–38 Bible is not stylistic, nor iconographic; it lies instead in their distinctive representational codes. Whereas the biblical commentary (Figures 10.1–10.4) was initially illuminated with narrative images whose figures were indistinguishable in their anthropomorphicity from the work of that workshop for Christian patrons, the Bible of 1236–38 was a field of experiment for a new mode of representation – a mode that thereafter became characteristic of Hebrew illuminated books for the next century and more: human figures with concealed or animal faces (Figures 10.5–10.8).

The two splendid codices made for Joseph ben Moses of 'Ulmna' mark a process of rapid change in Jewish book culture and visualities. The 1232/3 commentary appears to be the first extant Hebrew book in the medieval West illuminated by professionals – and in this case, known Christian illuminators. It thus marks a radical departure from the known established modes of Hebrew manuscript decoration, which had tended to be non-narrative, or consisted of micrography/drawing by scribe-artists. However, the full integration of 'Western' or 'Christian' modes of book illumination was almost immediately interrupted. Although all faces in the commentary's illuminations were initially fully and finely drawn (as the un-tampered face of one of the executioners on folio 209v of vol. II shows, see Figure 10.4, centre), they were then systematically, carefully and deliberately defaced. The facial features, especially the eyes, were almost totally erased. While angels were treated in exactly the same way as mere mortals, on folio 47v (Figure 10.3) a more radical approach was taken: there, we have to assume that a divine figure had appeared as Moses's interlocutor; infringing the taboo against depicting the deity, so the bust or half-figure was erased in its entirety. It is almost certain that this defacement took place fairly soon after the illuminations were completed, rather than decades or centuries later.

There are several complicated grounds for this claim. By 1236–38 (when Joseph ben Moses's 'Ambrosian' Bible was illuminated with a variety of concealed faces and animal heads substituted for human heads), it was clearly becoming less and less acceptable for the patron to own a manuscript illustrated with fully anthropomorphic images. Another Bible, signed by the same vocaliser-masorete Joseph ben Kalonymos in 1237/8, was still illuminated with anthropomorphic figures – and they too were deliberately and carefully defaced.¹⁹ Thereafter, manuscripts from this region, if illuminated, were illuminated with concealed or animal faces. We can be fairly certain of the timing of erasure, because this drastic form of intervention ceased once the new 'animal-headed' representational mode was fully established. Moreover, only in Munich Cod. Hebr. 5 is erasure applied systematically. Elsewhere it is carried out partially, with decreasing frequency and consistency. Already in the Ambrosian Bible

not all faces are concealed – some are defaced. By the late thirteenth century, erasure was already quoted rather than actually executed as a physical intervention.²⁰ Later narrative manuscripts were never subjected to erasure.

There is also a theological argument. An ancient Talmudic procedure called ‘annulment of idolatry’ (*bittul avodat kokhavim*), which involved partial and strategic defacement by ‘idolaters’ (non-Jews) of specific facial features before their Jewish owners could legitimately take possession, may have been invoked to compel a Christian (the illuminator himself?) to deface the images before Joseph ben Moses took possession. *Bittul avodat kokhavim* specifies that the erasure of facial features, that is, the cancellation of idolatry, must take place *before* the owner takes possession; it thus had to happen straight away, before Joseph ben Moses could take delivery of his book. However, such a tactic was probably chosen ad hoc. Given that the biblical commentary, and Joseph ben Kalonymos’s 1237/8 Bible (Wrocław, University Library, MS. M 1106) had initially been illuminated in a mode that was fully anthropomorphic, the customary assumption that image making was widely considered to be in contravention of the Second Commandment cannot be right. Ashkenazi authorities were in fact divided over this issue, and ‘popular’ practice diverged from rabbinic norms in what is perhaps a surprising way: a rabbinic consensus had gradually emerged that rejected the equation of illuminated books with ‘idolatry’, yet a popular taboo persisted in regarding anthropomorphic depictions as tainted, on account of their similarity to Christian image practices.²¹ The ‘annulment of idolatry’ through defacement is the trace of social mimicry attempted and subsequently retracted in favour of visible cultural differentiation, or a strategy of cultural difference.

This strategy of cultural difference can be seen for the first time in Joseph ben Moses’s Bible of 1236–38, where most faces were concealed or masked from the start: some heads were designed in such a way as to avoid showing the face (Adam and Eve with their faces covered by their hair (Figure 10.5); Abraham and Moses with their faces averted (Figures 10.6, 10.7)). In the initial word panels to Leviticus and Deuteronomy, some human faces were used, and then defaced (strangely enough, two of these belong to angels). Other heads were replaced with a variety of animals’ heads – lions mostly, but also eagles, bulls/oxen, and stags/does (Figure 10.8). Throughout, only their heads and necks are thus transformed, while their hands remain human. Some even sport human hair and beards, as if these were signs of culture (like hair coverings and crowns). Some animal heads were subsequently defaced, as if still somehow too human-like. The resulting animal-faced figures are curiously monstrous; following Bynum’s exploration of wonder and mirabilia, they may be classified as *mixta* (sing. *mixtum*, from Latin *miscere*, to mix), ‘conjoined things’.²²

Although the margins and inhabited initials of Latin manuscripts from the thirteenth century teem with *mixta* or hybrids, they very seldom feature the specific kind of *mixtum* under discussion here: the *mixtum* consisting of a human body and an animal or bird head, which characterises Ashkenazi illuminated manuscripts from the Bible of 1236–38 until the Black Death.²³ The best-known exception to this rule (absence of animal-headed humans in Latin alphabet manuscripts), which Zofia Ameisenowa proposed in 1953 as the iconographic key to the ‘zoomorphic’ Hebrew manuscripts, is the tradition of depicting the evangelists in zoocephalic form; that is, bearing the heads of their three symbolic animals. Another, unusual example, from early thirteenth-century Würzburg, occurs in an illustration of Jesus’s parable of the sheep and the goats (Matthew 25:31–46), commonly understood as a parable about the Last Judgement, in the Hiltegerus Psalter (Figure 10.9).²⁴ The elect and



Figure 10.9 Universitätsbibliothek der LMU München, Cim. 15, fol. 204r: Parable of Christ separating the sheep and the goats; resurrection (photograph: Universitätsbibliothek der LMU München).

the damned are thoroughly human, but they have animal heads. It is possible that such animal-headed creatures in Latin prayer books provided the illuminators of the Hebrew Bible with artistic resources (the ‘how to’) for the concealment and masking of the human face. But there is an important difference: the key to understanding the sheep and the goats in the Latin Psalter is iconographic – their animal heads allegorically index their elect or damned status; by contrast the *mixta* or *biformis* creatures with animal heads in the ‘Ambrosian’ Hebrew Bible should not be understood iconographically – the animal heads here refuse the anthropomorphic order of representation and thereby offer a critique of an image culture perceived as Christian. Bearing in mind Bhabha’s comments, cited above, about the indeterminacy of mimicry, it would be a mistake to ascribe a univocal, fully knowable meaning to the animal headed beings.

The transition from the fully human figures in the biblical commentary of 1232/3, to their subsequent defacement, to the development of an alternative mode of representation in the Bible of 1236–38 represents the move from mimicry via resistance and cultural negotiation to a kind of cultural translation. In the process, a minority, far from losing participation in the visual culture of the time, claimed its subjectivity. Cohen, in his analysis of Gerald of Wales’s *mestizaje*, has argued that ‘*mixta* bridge in their flesh cultures, races, geographies, and temporalities...’.²⁵ This subjectivity was not a fixed or pure identity, but rather a contingently positioned, contaminated, hybrid, monstrous one.

To return to the topic of patronage as mimicry. As mentioned, Joseph ben Moses was almost certainly a layman rather than a notable scholar; perhaps he was one of the wealthy laymen who aspired to community leadership. He might have moved to Würzburg from Ulm in order to participate in the vigorous growth of the Würzburg Jewish community during the thirteenth century. During the rule of Frederic II Hohenstaufen, the empire was embodied in Würzburg by the emperor’s local deputy, the prince-bishop Hermann of Lobdeburg (1225–54).²⁶ The Lobdeburgs were a Thuringian dynasty with close links to the imperial family, who ruled Würzburg as both secular and spiritual lords during the first half of the thirteenth century – not undisputed, of course, as the rising citizenship aspired to self-government (and provided a model for Jewish communal organisation). Hermann of Lobdeburg sought to control Jewish taxes by acquiring the emperor’s right to his *servi camerae*, but the citizens contested the ‘Judenregal’ and for a time Jews were obliged to pay taxes to both bishop and town. The bishop’s artistic patronage in Würzburg included the patronage of manuscripts. The ‘Dominican Bible’ – a four-volume illuminated Latin Bible (dated 1246), was donated by the abbot of St. Burkard, a rival, possibly as a token of his benevolent control, to the newly established Dominican convent.²⁷ I have noted the Lobdeburgs’ Thuringian connections because the Dominican Bible is usually thought to mark a sea-change in the history of the Würzburg school of illumination – a transition from a late Romanesque aesthetic very rooted in the Franconian (Bamberg), Bavarian (Regensburg), and Austrian (Salzburg) regions to a Byzanto-Romanesque-Gothic hybrid style known as Zackenstil (the angular style), imported from its ‘homeland’, the landgraviate of Thuringia, where it had been developed at the cosmopolitan court of Hermann I of Thuringia (d. 1217). This new style became the hallmark of the luxury Psalters produced for aristocratic patrons in the South of Germany. The prince-bishop and the Jewish layman may have chosen the same illuminators’ workshop!²⁸ Yet the new style is already noticeable in the

Hebrew commentary compilation for Joseph ben Moses, whose colophon dates it to 1232/3, i.e. more than a decade before the 'tone-setting' Dominican Bible of 1246. What matters here is that Joseph ben Moses was eager and able to employ one of the most fashionable workshops of his day to produce, in cooperation with the Hebrew scribe, a miniature cycle equivalent to the most luxurious objects of Christian patronage.

To understand Joseph ben Moses's patronage as initially an act of mimicry, we need to understand what he was emulating. Comparable Christian counterparts include the so-called luxury Psalters made for the German nobility, and especially for noble ladies.²⁹ The high-end prototypes for this expensive but portable object of piety and display are without doubt to be sought amongst the Psalters made for the Thuringian Landgraves during the 1210s: the Psalter of St. Elizabeth of Hungary and the Landgrafensalter.³⁰ The surviving examples (or fragments) localisable to Franconia are numerous, but usually impossible to ascribe to known owners; all are characterised by extensive narrative picture cycles.³¹ Besides the normative Marian and/or Christological picture preface (a textless set of full-page or half/half-page scenes from the life of Mary and Jesus, including apocryphal episodes), some of these splendid books feature additional narrative cycles or elements. Thus Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3900's calendar is accompanied by a St. Catherine cycle, indicating its ownership by a noble lady. The deployment of narrative panels in the above-mentioned Hiltegerus Psalter is particularly close in layout: in addition to full-page illuminations, Psalm initials are historiated with biblical and apocryphal narrative scenes, some set in framed panels (Figure 10.9).³² Many further examples likewise indicate that biblical narrative imagery was closely associated with the performance of piety by the local nobility.

In commissioning a Bible and biblical commentary with illuminations, Joseph ben Moses was imitating, albeit partially, a stratum of society to which he did not, could not belong. The identification is not with Christianity but with a particular social elite. Nevertheless, it was an impossible identification, which could only ever be partial, and yet was potentially subversive. This potential for subversion worked both ways: it potentially shook the foundations of noble power, but it also called into question what it meant to be Jewish. This aspect of subversion finally disrupted the act of mimicry, specifically by means of deliberate violation – the careful but merciless defacement of all the completed narrative miniatures. This defacement disrupts the act of mimicry, and constitutes a rupture that articulates cultural difference in all its antagonistic dynamic. The defaced figures do not *reflect* a *pre-given* cultural antagonism. Rather, the defacement *makes a claim* for antagonism by rejecting the already performed mimicry, by refusing to completely mimic the cultural practices of the neighbours. The illuminator's workshop was forced to make explicit a cultural difference claimed by the minoritised neighbour. It's worth reading this process against Homi Bhabha's thoughts on the performance of affiliation and antagonism:

Terms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced performatively. The representation of difference must not be hastily read as the reflection of *pre-given* ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition. The social articulation of difference, from the minority perspective, is a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation.³³

The monstrous or *mixta* representational code developed in the 1236–38 Bible was to remain normative into the mid-fourteenth century. This mode of representation, while visualising hybridity, stood for the Jewish refusal of bridging or mixing, while paradoxically figuring the very hybridity or impurity of Ashkenazi Jewish culture.

The very cultural patterns of Ashkenazi Judaism show this society to be riven by impurity, which is figured in the *mixta* while being denied textually. Entanglement and impurity in high medieval Ashkenazi culture have been the subject of research and theorisation in recent years by scholars such as Yuval, Marcus, Baumgarten, Malkiel, Goldin, and Przybilski, so I will point only briefly to stories of proximation and boundary crossing.³⁴ Particularly provocative embodiments of boundary crossing are converts in both directions. While Jewish apostates (converts to Christianity) have been thoroughly researched, proselytes (Christian converts to Judaism) have received less attention.³⁵ Rami Reiner has traced a significant change of attitude towards proselytes between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries, a change towards more acceptance and integration – assimilation, one might say, into a newly hybridised ethnic body.

Conjoining was deemed impossible on both sides, but stories of neighbouring, proximity, and *mixta* are detectable between the lines of the official narratives. Both Christians and Jews forbade mixed marriages, and proscribed apostasy. On the side of the Church, especially once the Inquisition was established, apostasy was punishable by burning alive at the stake. Jewish law quite simply did not recognise apostasy – a Jew always remained a Jew, and apostasy was merely a transgression considered reversible, atonable by a regime of penances. Like canon law, Halakhah denied the possibility of border crossing. A proselyte, or convert to Judaism, was considered like a newborn baby, and hence (at least in theory) his or her prior family bonds and inheritance were considered null and void. Converts could not mourn for their Christian parents, nor bequeath their property (though these disabilities were at least partially removed between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries). Offences committed before conversion were also voided upon conversion. A case first decided by Rabbenu Tam (d. 1170) continued to occupy several generations of legists: a Jewish wife has had an adulterous affair with a Christian; is divorced by her husband; converts to Christianity and marries her Christian lover; reverts to Judaism; her Christian former lover and now husband converts to Judaism; they wish to be married according to Jewish ritual. Some rabbinic authorities considered her adultery never to have taken place, on the grounds that ‘the seed of a gentile was regarded by biblical law as null’; others considered the adultery to be voided by the conversion of the Christian lover/husband – now a newborn without a past. Though the legal reasoning was under dispute, the reverted woman was permitted to marry her formerly Christian adulterous lover and husband according to Jewish ritual!³⁶ The multiple border crossings, even while effectively narrated, are denied on the discursive level.

The second text that shows how close proximity was, and how porous those strictly policed communal boundaries were, is one transmitted by Rabbi Meir Ben Baruch of Rothenburg (Maharam, c. 1215–93), the foremost German-Ashkenazi rabbinic authority of the second half of the thirteenth century, and the same rabbi who concluded that illuminated prayer books were not idolatrous. He attributes to the radical mystic Rabbi Yehudah HeChasid (d. 1217, author of the *Sefer Hasidim*, or Book of the Pietists) the following legend:

There is a chamber in the heavens called *guf* [body] housing all souls destined to enter humans, and an angel appointed to oversee pregnancies takes [souls] from

that chamber and implants them in women's bellies. Occasionally [the angel] errs and places a soul worthy of a gentile in a Jewish woman's intestines and her baby becomes *meshumad* [apostate]. And occasionally he places a soul worthy of a Jew in a gentile woman's intestines and her baby becomes a *ger* [proselyte, convert to Judaism].³⁷

In this astonishing vision of a muddling angel – anxious to shore up the social body of the Jewish community yet unable to police its boundaries – Jew and Christian are no longer distinguishable by ethnic origin. Here, 'cultures have crossbred and produced "hybrid progeny, a mutable, more malleable species"'³⁸ while claiming unbridgeable cultural antagonisms.

By commissioning high-quality illuminators, Joseph ben Moses emulated, even mimicked, the nobility, a social group inappropriate to his status as 'serf of the royal chamber'. What matters therefore is not artistic mimesis, but that inappropriate gesture. What Gunnar Mikosch has called Jewish *Selbstimagination*, self-imagining, was always an act of the imagination, a claim to a self that had no substance except in the imagination.³⁹ Joseph ben Moses's *Selbstimagination*, self-imagining, was as almost a member of the local nobility.

To mimic noble patterns of patronage was emphatically not to be noble. As Homi Bhabha put it in a different context: 'the mimic man ... is the effect of a flawed colonial mimesis, in which to be Anglicized is *emphatically* not to be English'.⁴⁰ In this case, Joseph ben Moses imitated that which he was able to imitate: the noble patronage of splendid illuminated books connected to the performance and display of piety. After all, many forms of patronage were not available to Jewish patrons: the building of castles, the public display of wealth and status, the commissioning of devotional paintings and sculptures, the sponsoring of musicians and performers. Joseph ben Moses's mimicry comments upon the unspoken power relations between the hegemonic Christian image culture and its minor Jewish form. What marks Joseph ben Moses's patronage initially as mimicry is its close and yet partial imitation that reinforced the nobility's inimitable status. It is the partial nature of Jewish imitation that reinforced the superiority of noble patronage – yet also threatened to undermine it, by calling it into question. From mimicry, Joseph ben Moses went on to reject mimicry in favour of a strategy of difference: the defacement of his biblical commentary, and subsequently, in his later Bible, concealment of faces and substitution by animal/bird faces. This strategy of difference was the outcome of neighbouring, proximity and dialogue, and thus reveals the insoluble bond between difference and neighbouring.

Notes

- 1 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Between Christian and Jew: Orthodoxy, Violence, and Living Together in Medieval England', lecture delivered at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 13 July 2009. My thanks to Jeffrey Cohen for allowing me to quote from the unpublished lecture.
- 2 Cohen, 'Between Christian and Jew'. My project is only tangentially related to that of David Nirenberg, *Neighboring Faiths: Christianity, Islam, and Judaism in the Middle Ages and Today* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), though I wish to highlight here a passage from his introduction: 'this book proposes a world in which the three religions are interdependent, constantly transforming themselves by thinking about each other in a fundamentally ambivalent form of neighborliness'. (Nirenberg, *Neighboring Faiths*, 4).

Elsewhere, Nirenberg speaks of a ‘simultaneous process of identification and dis-identification with their rival “siblings” and neighbors. We might call this process, in all of its ambivalence, the “coproduction” of religious communities.’ (Nirenberg, *Neighboring Faiths*, 5).

- 3 Stuart Hall, ‘Cultural Identity and Diaspora’, in *Identity: Community, Culture, and Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 222–37, at 225–6.
- 4 Hall, ‘Cultural Identity and Diaspora’, 236–7.
- 5 Hall, ‘Cultural Identity and Diaspora’, 225.
- 6 Cohen, ‘Between Christian and Jew’.
- 7 Eva Frojmovic, ‘Ashkenazi Prayerbooks and their Christian Illuminators’, in *Crossing Borders: Hebrew Manuscripts as a Meeting-place of Cultures*, ed. Piet van Boxel and Sabine Arndt (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2009), 45–56.
- 8 Homi Bhabha, ‘Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse’, in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 85–92.
- 9 Bhabha, ‘Of Mimicry and Man’, 86.
- 10 Bhabha, ‘Of Mimicry and Man’, 86.
- 11 For Bhabha’s use of cultural translation, which follows Walter Benjamin’s, as displacement of signification rather than replication, see Homi Bhabha, ‘The Commitment to Theory’, in *The Location of Culture*, 19–39.
- 12 The prayer alternates prose with lines of rhyming verse. The translation of the verse lines is uncertain.

‘I, Solomon son of Rabbi Samuel, wrote these commentaries to the twenty-four books [of the Bible] for Rabbi Joseph son of Rabbi Moses in the year four thousand nine hundred and ninety three after the creation of the world. And this will be my memorial when I return to dust.

Blessed be God for ever amen and amen
The words of (the) good shall be believed
For the lean utterly lacking fat [cf. Ps. 109:24, with added emphasis based on a poetic expression known from liturgical hymns using a piyut citing mishnaic dry measures!]
In exile and at the appointed time [cf. Ezra 10:14]
His angels to summon me
From sorrow to conceal me
As the nurse carries the infant [cf. Num. 11:12].

I, Solomon son of Rabbi Samuel from the city of Würzburg, have written these commentaries of the twenty-four books for Rabbi Joseph son of R. Moses in the year four thousand and nine hundred and ninety three after the creation of the world. And may the “place” [i.e. God] give him the merit to study them and to bequeath them to his sons and grandchildren until the end of all the generations, amen. And may the heavenly spirit be poured out onto us and may his secrets illuminate our eyes. And may he bring the Messiah of justice and may he rebuild the Temple. And there will the horn [of redemption] sprout unto us. Amen speedily in our days.’

My thanks to Susan Einbinder and Gabriel Wasserman for help with this translation. The manuscript is fully described in Elisabeth Klemm, *Die illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts deutscher Herkunft in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998), 198–202. On the Jews of Würzburg, see Karlheinz Müller, ‘Die jüdische Gemeinde’, in *Geschichte der Stadt Würzburg*, ed. Ulrich Wagner, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2001), 515–42; and Karlheinz Müller, *Die Würzburger Judengemeinde im Mittelalter. Von den Anfängen bis zum Tod Julius Eichters (1617)* (Würzburg: Freunde Mainfränkischer Kunst und Geschichte, 2004), 44–62. Based on the rich historical archive constituted by the medieval tombstones found in 1987, these publications offer substantial revisions to older literature: Seligmann Bamberger, *Geschichte der Rabbiner der Stadt und des Bezirkes Würzburg vom 12. Jahrhundert bis auf die Neuzeit* (Würzburg: Frank, 1906); and Mosze Awigdor Szulwas, *Die Juden in Würzburg während des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Paul Brandel, 1934).

- 13 Karlheinz Müller, 'Bildungsrang und Spiritualität der Würzburger Juden', in *Unterfränkische Geschichte*, ed. Peter Kolb and Ernst-Günter Krenig (Würzburg: Echter, 1990–2002), vol. 2. *Vom hohen Mittelalter bis zum Beginn des konfessionellen Zeitalters* (1992), 374–401.
- 14 Joseph Gutmann, 'Masorah Figurata: the Origins and Development of a Jewish Art Form', in *Sacred Images: Studies in Jewish Art from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989), ch. XV; Leila Avrin, *Hebrew Micrography: One Thousand Years of Art in Script* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1981); Rahel Fronda, 'Attributing of Three Ashkenazi Bibles with Micrographic Images', *Ars Judaica* 9 (2013), 45–56.
- 15 Klemm, *Die illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 198–202, mentions the Hebrew templates briefly without exploring their import. The Latin instructions for the illuminator were first noted, and a Christian artist posited, by Robert Suckale, 'Über den Anteil christlicher Maler an der Ausmalung hebräischer Handschriften der Gotik in Bayern', in *Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Bayern*, ed. Manfred Tremel and Wolf Weigand, with Evamaria Brockhoff (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1988), 123–34, contra Thérèse Metzger, 'Le manuscrit enluminé Cod. Hebr. 5 de la Bibliothèque d'Etat à Munich', in *Etudes de civilisation médiévale, IXe–XIIe siècles; mélanges offerts à Edmond René Labande* (Poitiers: C.E.S.C.M., 1974), 537–52.
- 16 Luisa Mortara Ottolenghi, *Description of Decorated and Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts in the Ambrosiana Library* (*Hebraica Ambrosiana: Catalogue of Undescribed Hebrew Manuscripts in the Ambrosiana Library*, vol. II) (Milan: II Polifilo, 1972), 119–25; Kurt Schubert, 'Die Ikonographie der ambrosianischen Bibel', *Kairos. Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie*, ns 27 (1985), 207–14.
- 17 'I, Jacob bar Samuel the scribe, wrote this book for R. Joseph ben R. Moses of Ulmna and I completed it on the first of Shevat in the year 996 according to the [small] reckoning [4996 from the creation of the world, i.e. 10 January, 1236 CE], and may God give him the merit to learn from it, him and his children and the children of his children. Be strong and let us be strengthened, and may the scribe not languish.'
- 18 'And I, Joseph b[en] Kalonymos, wrote the *Massorah* and punctuated and completed it in the year 998 according to the [small] reckoning in the month of Shevat [January 1238 CE]'.
19 Wrocław, University Library, MS. M 1106. The original patron's name was scratched out by a later owner, and the location is not specified beyond the vague Targumic geographical label 'Hadyev', i.e. Ashkenaz. See Thérèse Metzger, *Die Bibel von Meschullam und Joseph Kalonymos Ms. M 1106 der Universitätsbibliothek Breslau* (Wrocław: Kommissionsverlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1994). On Joseph ben Kalonymos as poet, see Siegmund Salfeld, *Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuches* (Berlin: L. Simion, 1898), 326. A discussion of the method of defacement adopted in the Bible of 1237/8 would exceed the scope of this paper, but it's worth noting that only the eyes were targeted, and two faces escaped the defacement.
- 20 In the late thirteenth-century Mahzor (festival prayer book) Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Parm. 2887, fol. 101v, blank (as if erased) faces were painted in a full-page miniature of the Exodus from Egypt.
- 21 Thérèse and Mendel Metzger, 'Meir ben Barukh de Rothembourg et la question des images chez les Juifs au moyen âge', *Aschkenas – Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 4.1 (1994), 33–82; Katrin Kogmann-Appel, 'Christianity, Idolatry, and the Question of Jewish Figurative Painting in the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 84.1 (2009), 73–107.
- 22 Caroline Walker Bynum, 'Wonder', *American Historical Review* 102.1 (1997), 1–27, at 7.
- 23 Zofia Ameisenowa, 'Animal-Headed Gods, Evangelists, Saints and Righteous Men', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 12 (1949), 21–45. Despite her iconographic 'key', she remains perplexed by the Ambrosiana Bible's use of animal features (40–1): 'an evident imitation of the Christian representation of the animal-headed Evangelists. Why the artist who illustrated the three-volume Bible with such interesting pictures ... pictured only three "chajjioth" [creatures from Ezekiel's vision] with the faces of the lion, the man and the bull, and depicted an animal of prey with sharp claws and gleaming eyes instead of the usual eagle-headed creature, is a puzzle to me. He seems to some extent to have disregarded the tradition'.
- 24 Universitätsbibliothek der LMU München, Cim. 15, fol. 204r. The codex is known as the Hiltegerus Psalter. Jointly commissioned by a lay lady probably called Sophia and a subdeacon named Hilteger, both of whom are portrayed kneeling at the feet of the Trinity on fol.

- 1v, it should probably be called after them both. The female patron's name has been erased on this page, but she is named in the Office for the Dead on fol. 210v. See Marianne Reuter, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München: Die Handschriften aus der Quartreihe* (Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München, Volume 5), (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 25; Ulrich Kuder, 'Der Hiltegerus-Psalter (sog. Würzburg-Ebracher Psalter) der Universitätsbibliothek München 4° Cod. ms. 24 (Cim. 15)', in *Studien zur Buchmalerei des 13. Jahrhunderts in Franken*, ed. Klaus Gereon Beuckers (Kiel: Ludwig, 2011), 15–159. A full online facsimile of this codex is available on <http://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/10931/> (last accessed 24 November 2015).
- 25 Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales', in his *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (London: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 85–104, at 94.
 - 26 Alfred Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg. Teil 1, Die Bischofsreihe bis 1254* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter: 1962), 211–26.
 - 27 Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.8. Helmut Engelhart, *Die Würzburger Buchmalerei im hohen Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zu einer Gruppe illuminierter Handschriften aus der Werkstatt der Würzburger Dominikanerbibel von 1246* (Würzburg: Kommissionsverlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1987).
 - 28 Engelhart, *Die Würzburger Buchmalerei*, thought the biblical commentary and the Dominican Bible were illuminated by the same workshop. Klemm, *Die illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 198–202, disputes this view.
 - 29 Jürgen Wolf, 'Psalter und Gebetbuch am Hof: Bindeglieder zwischen klerikal-literaler und laikal-mündlicher Welt', in *Orality and Literacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mark Chinca and Christopher Young (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 139–79; Christine Sauer, *Studium – Lektüre – Andacht: Zur Handschriftenproduktion im 13. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, 1996); Christine Sauer, *Fundatio und Memoria: Stifter und Klostergründer im Bild 1100 bis 1350* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993). See Hans-Peter Geh and Gerhard Römer, eds, *Mittelalterliche Andachtsbücher: Psalterien, Stundenbücher, Gebetbücher; Zeugnisse europäischer Frömmigkeit: eine Ausstellung der Badischen und der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek zum 91. Deutschen Katholikentag in Karlsruhe 1992* (Karlsruhe: Badische Landesbibliothek, 1992), especially 68–70; Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, 'Buchkunst zur Zeit der Andechs-Meranier in Bamberg', in *Die Andechs-Meranier in Franken, Europäisches Fürstentum im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Eva Schurr, Kai Uwe Tapken, Ursula Vorwerk (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998), 239–61; Claudia Bubenik, ed., *Gemalt mit lebendiger Farbe. Illumierte Prachtpsalterien der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek vom 11. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Luzern: Quaternio, 2011).
 - 30 Psalter of St. Elizabeth of Hungary: Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Codice MS. CXXXVII: Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, *Der Elisabethpsalter in Cividale del Friuli: Buchmalerei für den Thüringer Landgrafenhof zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2001); Giuseppe Fornasari, 'Il Salterio di Santa Elisabetta di Turingia', *Forum Iulii* 27 (2003), 173–82. Landgrafenpsalter: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS. HB II 24: Felix Heinzer, ed., *Der Landgrafenpsalter: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift HB II 24 der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1992).
 - 31 Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Hs 1903; Munich, BSB, Clm 3900; Universitätsbibliothek der LMU München, Cim. 15; Psalter fragments London, British Library, Add MS 17687 and Los Angeles, Getty Library, MS. 4; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Hs. St. Peter perg. 122. Stuttgart, WLB, HB II 25 and Munich, Graphische Sammlung fragments. The list could be extended considerably.
 - 32 Kuder, 'Der Hiltegerus-Psalter'.
 - 33 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2, emphasis in original.
 - 34 Ivan G. Marcus, 'A Jewish-Christian Symbiosis: The Early Culture of Ashkenaz', in *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*, ed. David Biale (New York: Schocken Books, 2002), 449–516; Israel Jacob Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Elisheva Baumgarten, *Practicing Piety in Medieval Ashkenaz: Men, Women, and Everyday Religious Observance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); David Malkiel, *Reconstructing Ashkenaz: The Human Face of Franco-German Jewry, 1000–1250*

- (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009); Simha Goldin, *Jewish Women in Europe in the Middle Ages: A Quiet Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); Martin Przybilski, *Kulturtransfer zwischen Juden und Christen in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011).
- 35 Ben Zion Wacholder, 'Cases of Proselytizing in the Tosafist Responsa', *The Jewish Quarterly Review* ns 51.4 (1961), 288–315; Bernhard Blumenkranz, 'Jüdische und christliche Konvertiten im jüdisch-christlichen Religionsgespräch des Mittelalters', in *Judentum im Mittelalter: Beiträge zum christlich-jüdischen Gespräch*, ed. Paul Wilpert (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1966), 264–82; Jacob Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times* (New York: Behrman House, 1961), 77–81; Wolfgang Giese, 'In Iudaismum lapsus est: jüdische Proselytenmacherei im frühen und hohen Mittelalter (600–1300)', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 88 (1968), 407–18; Ephraim Kanarfogel, 'Returning to the Jewish Community in Medieval Ashkenaz: History and Halakhah', in *Turim: Studies in Jewish History and Literature Presented to Dr. Bernard Lander*, vol. 1, ed. Michael A. Shmidman (New York: Touro College Press, 2007), 69–97; Rami Reiner, 'L'attitude envers les prosélytes en Allemagne et en France du XIe au XIIIe siècle', *Revue des Etudes Juives* 167 (2008), 99–119.
 - 36 The case is discussed, with sources, in Ben Zion Wacholder, 'Cases of Proselytizing', 291–4.
 - 37 I. A. Agus, ed., *Teshuvot Ba'alei ha-Tosafot* (New York, 1954), 286; translation in Rami Reiner, '"Tough Are Gerim". Conversion to Judaism in Medieval Europe', *Havruta* 1 (2008), 54–63, at 63 (gloss in round brackets added); see Reiner, 'L'attitude envers les prosélytes', 115–6.
 - 38 Cohen, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands', 96, citing Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: the New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute Books, 1987), 77.
 - 39 Gunnar Mikosch, 'Bildverbot? – Selbstimaginationen in der jüdischen Bildwelt des Mittelalters', in *Fremdbilder – Selbstbilder: Imaginationen des Judentums in Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. René Bloch, Simone Haeberli, Rainer Christoph Schwinges (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2010), 109–34.
 - 40 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 87, emphasis in the original.

Bibliography

- Abdou, Angela. 'Speech and Power in Old English Conversion Narratives'. *Florilegium* 17 (2000), 195–212.
- Abels, Richard. 'What has Weland to do with Christ? The Franks Casket and the Acculturation of Christianity in Early Anglo-Saxon England'. *Speculum* 84.3 (2009), 549–81.
- Abulafia, Anna Sapir. *Christian Jewish Relations 1000–1300: Jews in the Service of Medieval Christendom*. Edinburgh: Pearson, 2011.
- Abulafia, David. 'The Pisan Bacini and the Medieval Mediterranean Economy: A Historian's Viewpoint'. In *Papers in Italian Archaeology IV: The Cambridge Conference, Part IV, Classical and Medieval Archaeology*, ed. Caroline Malone and Simon Stoddart. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1985, 287–302.
- Adelman, Jeremy and Stephen Aron, 'Trading Cultures: Worlds of Western Merchants'. In *Trading Cultures: The Worlds of Western Merchants: Essays on Authority, Objectivity, and Evidence*, ed. Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001, 1–6.
- Ælfric Abbot of Eynsham. *Colloquy*, ed. George Norman Garmonsway. Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1991 (orig. ed. 1939).
- Agnew, Jean-Christophe. 'Coming up for Air: Consumer Culture in Historical Perspective'. In *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter. London: Routledge, 1994, 19–39.
- Airaldi, Gabriella. 'The Genoese Art of Warfare'. In *Across the Mediterranean Frontiers: Trade, Politics and Religion, 650–1450*, ed. Dionisius Agius and Ian Richard Netton. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997, 269–82.
- Akbari, Suzanne Conklin. 'From Due East to True North: Orientalism and Orientation'. In *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000, 19–34.
- Akbari, Suzanne Conklin. 'Introduction: East, West, and In-Between'. In *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Iannucci. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008, 3–20.
- . *Idols in the East: European representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Alexander, Jeffrey. 'From the Depths of Despair: Performance, Counterperformance, and "September 11"'. *Sociological Theory* 22.1 (2004), 88–105.
- , Bernhard Giesen, Jason Mast, eds. *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Alfonso, Esperanza. *Islamic Culture Through Jewish Eyes*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Alighieri, Dante. *De vulgari eloquentia*, trans. Stephen Botterill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Ameisenowa, Zofia. 'Animal-Headed Gods, Evangelists, Saints and Righteous Men'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 12 (1949), 21–45.
- Amoore, Louise ed. *The Global Resistance Reader*. London: Taylor & Francis Inc., 2005.

- Andersson, Kent. *Romartida guldsmide i Norden III: Övriga smycken, teknisk analys och verkstadsggrupper*. Aun 23. Uppsala: Societas Archaeologica Upsaliensis, 1995.
- Andrén, Anders. 'Guld och makt – en tolkning av de skandinaviska guldbrakteaternas funktion'. In *Samfundsorganisation og regional variation: Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid*, ed. Charlotte Fabech and Jytte Ringtved. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter 27. Århus: Jysk arkologisk selskab, 1991, 245–56.
- Angot, Abbé Alphonse. *Généalogies féodales mayennaises du XIe au XIIIe siècle*. Laval: Imprimerie-Librairie Goupil, 1942.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987.
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- . 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value'. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 3–63.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: Norton, 2006.
- Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, ed. J. Bywater. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1894.
- Arnold, Bettina. 'Gender and Archaeological Mortuary Analysis'. In *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006, 137–70.
- , and Nancy L. Wicker. *Gender and the Archaeology of Death*. Walnut Creek CA: AltaMira Press, 2001.
- Arrhenius, Birgit. 'Women and Gold: On the Role of Women in Society at the Time of the Great Migrations and Their Relationship to the Production and Distribution of Ornaments'. In *Produksjon og samfunn: Beretning fra 2. Nordiske jernaldersymposium på Granavolden 7.–10. Mai 1992*, ed. Heid Gjøstein Resi. Oslo: Universitetets Oldsaksamling, 1995, 85–96.
- Ashcroft, Bill, and Pal Ahluwalia. *Edward Said*, 2nd edition. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Assis, Yom Tov. *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry: Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213–1327*. London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1997.
- Avril, François. *Jean Fouquet: Peintre et enlumineur du XVe siècle*. Ghent: Hazan, 2003.
- , and Nicole Reynaud, *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440–1520*. Paris: Flammarion, 1993.
- Avrin, Leila. *Hebrew Micrography: One Thousand Years of Art in Script*. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1981.
- Axboe, Morten. 'The Scandinavian Gold Bracteates: Studies on Their Manufacture and Regional Variations'. *Acta Archaeologica* 52 (1981), 1–87.
- , Urs Clavedetscher, Klaus Düwel, Karl Hauck, Lutz von Padberg eds. *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit 1,2. Ikonographischer Katalog*. Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften 24/1,2. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1985.
- , Klaus Düwel, Karl Hauck, Lutz von Padberg, Cajus Wypior eds. *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit 1,2. Ikonographischer Katalog*. Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften 24/2,1. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1986.
- , Klaus Düwel, Karl Hauck, Lutz von Padberg, Heike Rulffs eds. *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit 1,2. Ikonographischer Katalog*. Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften 24/3,1. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1989.
- . *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit—Herstellungsprobleme und Chronologie*. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 38. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004.
- Azuar, Rafael. 'Una necesaria revisión de las cerámicas andalusíes halladas en Italia'. *Arqueología y territorio medieval* 12.1 (2005), 175–200.
- Backhouse, Janet and Christopher de Hamel, *The Becket Leaves*. London: The British Library Board, 1988.

- Bakhtin, Mikhail. 'Discourse in the Novel'. In *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981, 259–422.
- Balafrej, Lamia. 'Saracen or Pisan? The Use and Meaning of the Pisa Griffin on the Duomo'. *Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012), 31–40.
- Baldassarri, Monica and Marcella Giorgio. 'La ceramica di produzione mediterranea a Pisa tra XI e fine XIII secolo: Circolazione consumi ed aspetti sociali alla luce dei recenti scavi urbani'. In *Pensare/Classificare: Studi e ricerche sulla ceramica medievale per Graziella Berti*, ed. Sauro Gelichi and Monica Baldassarri. Florence: All'insegna del giglio, 2010, 35–51.
- Baldassarri, Monica and Graziella Berti. 'Nuovi dati sulle importazioni di ceramiche islamiche e bizantine a Pisa'. In *Actas del VIII congreso internacional de cerámica medieval en el Mediterráneo*, ed. Juan Zozaya. Ciudad Real: Asociación Española de Arqueología Medieval, 2009, 63–80.
- Bamberger, Seligmann. *Geschichte der Rabbiner der Stadt und des Bezirkes Würzburg vom 12. Jahrhundert bis auf die Neuzeit*. Würzburg: Frank, 1906.
- Banti, Ottavio. 'I rapporti tra Pisa e gli stati islamici dell'Africa settentrionale tra l'XI e il XIV secolo'. In *Le ceramiche medievali delle chiese di Pisa: Contributo per una migliore comprensione delle loro caratteristiche e del loro significato quale documento di storia*, ed. G. Piancastelli Politi. Pisa: Pacini, 1983, 9–26.
- Banti, Ottavio. 'I trattati tra Pisa e Tunisi dal XII al XIV secolo'. In *L'Italia ed i paesi Mediterranei: Vie di comunicazione e scambi commerciali e culturali al tempo delle repubbliche marinare*. Pisa: Nistri-Lischi e Pacini Editori, 1988, 43–74.
- . *A Short History of Pisa*. Pisa: Pacini, 1999.
- Baracchini, Clara and Antonino Caleca. 'Presenze islamiche nell'arte a Pisa'. In *Arte islamica: Presenze di cultura islamica nella Toscana costiera*, ed. Mariagiulia Burrelli. Pisa: Museo Nazionale e Civico di S. Matteo, 1995, 51–81.
- Barber, Charles. *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Barber, Peter. 'Medieval Maps of the World'. In *The Hereford World Map: Medieval World Maps and their Context*, ed. Paul D. A. Harvey, London: The British Library, 2006, 15–19.
- Barlow, Frank. *Thomas Becket*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986.
- Barnard, Alan and Jonathan Spencer. *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Barnes, Carl F. jr. *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt: A New Critical Edition and Color Facsimile*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.
- Barrow, Geoffrey Wallis Steuart. 'A Scottish Collection at Canterbury'. *The Scottish Historical Review* 31 (1952), 16–28.
- . *The Acts of Malcolm IV King of Scots 1153–1165*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960.
- . *The Acts of William I King of Scots 1165–1214*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971.
- . *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.
- , ed. *The Declaration of Arbroath: History, Significance, Setting*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003.
- Barthes, Roland. *The Rustle of Language*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Bartlett, Robert and Angus Mackay, eds. *Medieval Frontier Societies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.
- Baum, P. 'Judas' Sunday Rest'. *The Modern Language Review* 18 (1923), 168–82.
- Baumgarten, Elisheva. *Practicing Piety in Medieval Ashkenaz: Men, Women, and Everyday Religious Observance*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.

- Baxandall, Michael. 'Art, Society, and the Bouguer Principle'. *Representations* 12 (1985), 32–43.
- . *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Bayoumi, Moustafa, and Andrew Rubin, eds. *The Edward Said Reader*. New York: Vintage Books, 2000.
- Beckwith, John. *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 2nd edition. The Pelican History of Art. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979.
- Bede. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969.
- . *On Genesis: Bede*, ed. and trans. Calvin Kendall. Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2008.
- . *Bede: on the Temple*, trans. Seán Connolly, with an introduction by Jennifer O'Reilly. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995.
- Behr, Charlotte. 'Do Bracteates Identify Influential Women in Early Medieval Kingdoms?' In *Kingdoms and Regionality: Transactions from the 49th Sachsensymposium 1998 in Uppsala*, ed. Birgit Arrhenius. Theses and Papers in Archaeology B:6. Stockholm: Archaeological Research Laboratory, Stockholm University, 2001, 95–101.
- Benjamin, Walter. 'The Task of the Translator'. *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1969, 69–82.
- Bennett, Josephine Waters. *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1954.
- Bensch, Stephen P. 'From Prizes of War to Domestic Merchandise: The Changing Face of Slavery in Catalonia and Aragon, 1000–1300'. *Viator* 25 (1994), 63–93.
- Bentham, James. *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1771.
- Berend, Nora. 'Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier'. *The Medieval History Journal*, 2.1 (1999), 55–72.
- Berger, Samuel. *La Bible française au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1884.
- Bermúdez, José Luis, and Sebastian Gardner, eds. *Art and Morality*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Berti, Graziella, and Liana Tongiorgi. *I bacini ceramici medievali delle chiese di Pisa*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1981.
- , Liana and Ezio Tongiorgi. *Le ceramiche medievali delle chiese di Pisa*. Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1981.
- . 'Consideraciones sobre los "bacini" utilizados en la decoración de las Iglesias Pisanas de los Siglos XI y XII'. In *Naves Andalusíes en Cerámicas mallorquinas*, ed. Graziella Berti, Javier Pastor Quijada, and Guillermo Rosselló Bordoy. Palma de Mallorca: Conselleria de cultura, 1993, 11–19.
- . 'Le ceramiche'. In *Arte islamica: Presenze di cultura islamica nella Toscana costiera*, ed. Amedeo Mercurio. Pisa: Museo Nazionale e Civico di San Matteo, 1995, 83–89.
- . *Le ceramiche medievali e post-medievali: Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo*. Firenze: All'insegna del giglio, 1997.
- . 'I rapporti Pisa-Spagna (Al-Andalus, Maiorca) tra la fine del X ed il XV secolo testimoniati dalle ceramiche'. In *Atti: XXX e XXXI Convegno internazionale della ceramica*3. Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 1999, 241–53.
- . 'La decorazione con "bacini" ceramici'. In *Nel segno di Pietro: La basilica di San Piero a Grado da luogo della prima evangelizzazione a meta di pellegrinaggio medievale*, ed. Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut and Stefano Sodi. Pisa: Felice Editore, 2003, 157–73.
- . 'Pisa and the Islamic World: Import of Ceramic Wares and Transfer of Technical Know-How'. In *Il mare, la terra, il ferro: Ricerche su Pisa medievale (secoli VII–XIII)*, ed. Graziella Berti, Catia Renzi Rizzo, and Marco Tangheroni. Pisa: Pacini, 2004, 73–92.

- , and Alberto García Porras. 'A propósito de "Una necesaria revisión de las cerámicas andalusíes halladas en Italia"'. *Arqueología y territorio medieval* 13.1 (2006), 155–95.
- , and Marcella Giorgio. *Ceramiche con coperture vetrificate usate come "bacini": Importazioni a Pisa e in altri centri della Toscana tra fine X e XIII secolo*. Florence: All'insegna del giglio, 2011.
- Betancourt, Roland. 'Imagined Encounters: Historiographies for a New World'. *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 7.1 (2016), 3–9.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- . *Our Neighbours, Ourselves: Contemporary Reflections on Survival*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011.
- Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria: Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/81*, vol. 4. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.
- Biget, Jean-Louis, Jean-Claude Hervé and Yvon Thébert, 'Expressions iconographiques et monumentales du pouvoir d'Etat en France et en Espagne à la fin de Moyen Age: l'exemple d'Albi et de Grenade'. In *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'Etat moderne. Actes de la table ronde de Rome (15–17 octobre 1984)*. Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1985.
- Bischoff, Bernhard. *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, repr. 1997.
- Blair, Sheila and Jonathan Bloom. 'From Secular to Sacred: Islamic Art in Christian Contexts'. In *Secular Sacred: 11th to 16th Century*, ed. Nancy Netzer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006, 115–19.
- Blanchot, Maurice. 'Literature and the Right to Death'. In *The Gaze of Orpheus and other Literary Essays*, ed. P. Adams Sitney. Barrytown, NY: Station Hill Press, 1981, 21–62.
- Blasco Martinez, Asunción. 'Aragon: Christians, Jews and Muslims Between Coexistence and Conflict'. In *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20–25th October 2002*, ed. Christoph Cluse. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004, 139–50.
- Bloom, Jonathan. *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Blumenkranz, Bernhard. 'Jüdische und christliche Konvertiten im jüdisch-christlichen Religionsgespräch des Mittelalters'. In *Judentum im Mittelalter; Beiträge zum christlich-jüdischen Gespräch*, ed. Paul Wilpert. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1966, 264–82.
- Bogost, Ian. *Alien Phenomenology: or What it's Like to Be a Thing*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.
- Bolin, Sture. *Fynden av romerska mynt i det fria Germanien: Studier i romersk och äldre germansk historia*. Lund: Skånska centraltryckeriet, 1926.
- Borenius, Tancred. *St. Thomas Becket in Art*. London: Methuen, 1932.
- Bosworth, Joseph, and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898.
- Boulanger, Karine. 'Les Vitraux du choeur de la cathédrale d'Angers: commanditaires et iconographie'. In *Anjou: Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology*, ed. John McNeill and Daniel Prigent. Leeds: The British Archaeological Association, 2003, 196–209.
- . *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers*, Corpus Vitrearum: France, Recensement III. Paris: Editions du CTHS, 2010.
- Brady, Lindy. 'Echoes of Britons on a Fenland Frontier in the Old English *Andreas*', *Review of English Studies* 61, no. 252 (2010), 669–89.
- . 'The Spatial Ambiguity of *Guthlac A*', forthcoming.
- Branca, Vittore, and Murtha Baca. *Merchant Writers of the Italian Renaissance*. New York: Marsilio Publishers, 1999.
- Brann, Ross. *Power in the Portrayal: Representations of Jews and Muslims in Eleventh and Twelfth-Century Islamic Spain*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.

- Branner, Robert. 'The Painted Medallions in the Sainte-Chapelle'. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* n.s. 58 (1968), 5–41.
- Bredehoft, Thomas A. 'Three New Cryptic Runes on the Franks Casket'. *Notes and Queries* n.s. 58.2 (2011), 181–3.
- Brewer, John, and Roy Porter, eds. *Consumption and the World of Goods*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Brisac, Catherine. 'Thomas Becket dans le vitrail français au debut du XIII^e siècle'. In *Thomas Becket: Actes du Colloque international de Sedières 19–24 août 1973*, ed. Raymond Forville. Paris: Beauchesne, 1975, 221–31.
- Broderick, Herbert R. III, 'Meta-textuality, Sexuality and Intervisuality in MS Junius 11', *Word and Image* 25.4 (2009), 384–401.
- Brothers, Cammy. 'The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V'. *Muqarnas* 11 (1994), 79–102.
- Brower Stahl, Ann. 'Material Histories'. In *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, ed. Dan Hicks and Mary Carolyn Beaudry. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 150–72.
- Brown, Bill. 'Thing Theory'. *Critical Inquiry* 28 (2001), 1–22.
- Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints and its Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Bruce, Travis. 'The Politics of Violence and Trade: Denia and Pisa in the Eleventh Century'. *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 127–42.
- . 'An Intercultural Dialogue between the Muslim Taifa of Denia and the Christian County of Barcelona in the Eleventh Century'. *Medieval Encounters* 15 (2009), 1–34.
- Bruhn, Jutta-Annette. *Coins and Costume in Late Antiquity*. Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications 9. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993.
- Brush, Karen. 'Gender and Mortuary Analysis in Pagan Anglo-Saxon Archaeology'. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 7 (1988), 76–89.
- Bryant, Levi. *The Democracy of Objects*. Ann Arbor: Open Humanities, 2011.
- , Nick Srnicek, and Graham Harman, eds. *The Speculative Turn: Continental Materialism and Realism*. Victoria: Re.Press, 2011.
- Bubenik, Claudia, ed. *Gemalt mit lebendiger Farbe. Illumierte Prachtsalterien der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek vom 11. bis 16. Jahrhundert*. Luzern: Quaternio, 2011.
- Buck-Morss, Susan. *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000.
- . *Thinking Past Terror: Islamism and Critical Theory on the Left*. London: Verso, 2003.
- Burke, Peter. 'Res et verba: Conspicuous Consumption in the Early Modern World'. In *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter. London: Routledge 1994, 148–61.
- Burns, Robert I. *Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth Century Kingdom of Valencia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.
- . *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.
- . 'Mudejar Parallel Societies: Anglophone Historiography and Spanish Context, 1975–2000'. In *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain Interaction and Cultural Change*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000, 91–124.
- Burresi, Mariagiulia, and Antonino Caleca, 'Le arti a Pisa e il contesto mediterraneo nel Medioevo'. In *Pisa e il Mediterraneo: Uomini, merci, idee dagli etruschi ai Medici*, ed. Marco Tangheroni. Milan: Skira 2003, 181–9.
- Bursche, Aleksander. 'Die Römische Goldmedaille in der Spätantike'. In *Barbarenschmuck und Römergold: Der Schatz von Szilágysomlyó*, ed. Wilfried Seipel. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1999, 39–53.

- . 'Roman Gold Medallions as Power Symbols of the Germanic Élite'. In *Roman Gold and the Development of the Early Germanic Kingdoms*, ed. Bente Magnus. KVHAA Konferenser 51. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2001, 83–102.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. 'Wonder'. *American Historical Review* 102.1 (1997), 1–27.
- . *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Zone Books, 2011.
- Byrd, Jodi A. '(Post) Colonial Plainsongs: Toward Native Literary Worldings'. In *Unlearning the Language of Conquest*, ed. Four Arrows (Don Trent Jacobs). Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006, 82–92.
- Cahn, Walter and James Marrow. 'Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at Yale: A Selection'. *Yale University Library Gazette* 52 (1978), 174–284.
- Cambridge, Eric. 'The Architecture of the Augustine Mission'. In *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. Richard Gameson. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999, 202–36.
- Cameron, Angus, et al., *Dictionary of Old English*. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1986.
- Camille, Michael. 'The Language of Images in Medieval England, 1200–1400'. In *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400*, ed. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski. London: Royal Academy of Arts, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987, 33–40.
- . 'Visualizing in the Vernacular: a New Cycle of Early Fourteenth-Century Bible Illustrations'. *The Burlington Magazine* 130 (1988), 97–106.
- . *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- . *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*. London: Reaktion Books, 2008.
- Campbell, Mary B. *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Carande Thovar, Ramón. *Carlos V y sus banqueros*. Madrid: Editorial Critica, 1943.
- Carpenter, Dwayne E. 'Social Perceptions and Literary Portrayal: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Spanish Literature'. In *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick and Jerrilynn Dodds. New York: George Braziller, 1992, 61–81.
- Caskey, Jill. *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the Region of Amalfi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Castro, Américo. *España en su Historia: Cristianos, Moros y Judíos*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948.
- Cataldi, Maria. 'Patrimonio artistico'. In *La chiesa di S. Stefano*, ed. Graziella Garzella and Maria Cataldi. Pisa: ETS, 2003, 14–32.
- Catalogue illustré des livres précieux manuscrits et imprimés faisant partie de la bibliothèque de M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot*, vol. 2. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Compagnie, 1879.
- Caviness, Madeline Harrison. *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral 1175–1220*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- . *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi: Great Britain 2. London: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Cecire, Maria Sachiko. 'Ban Welondes: Wayland the Smith in Popular Culture'. In *Anglo-Saxon Culture and the Modern Imagination*, ed. David Clark and Nicholas Perkins. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010, 201–17.
- Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo, *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: L'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea*. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1993.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Chekin, Leonid S. *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography: Inventory, Texts, Translation, and Commentary*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006.
- Chéreau, Achille. *Catalogue d'un marchand libraire du XVe siècle tenant boutique à Tours*. Paris: Académie des bibliophiles, 1868.

- Cherniss, Michael D. *Ingeld and Christ: Heroic Concepts and Values in Old English Christian Poetry*. The Hague: Mouton, 1972.
- Childs, Peter, and Patrick Williams. *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1997.
- Choux, Jacques, Hubert Collin, Simone Collin-Roset, Michel Parisse, Monique Paumier-Foucart and Guy Vaucel, eds. *Écriture et Enluminure en Lorraine au Moyen Âge*. Nancy: Société Thierry Alix, 1984.
- Christ, Karl. *Die altfranzösischen Handschriften der Palatina*. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1916.
- Church, Stephen David ed. *King John: New Interpretations*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999.
- Cluse, Christoph, ed. *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20–25th October 2002*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.
- Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome. *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- . *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- . *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.
- . 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales'. In *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000, 85–104.
- . *Medieval Identity Machines*, Medieval Cultures 35. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
- . *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- . 'Pilgrimages, Travel Writing and the Medieval Exotic'. In *Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Elaine Treharne and Greg Walker. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 611–28.
- . 'The Future of Jews of York'. <http://www.inthemedievalmiddle.com/2010/03/future-of-jews-of-york.html> (accessed 24 November 2015).
- . 'The Future of Jews of York'. In *Christians and Jews in Medieval England: Narratives and Contexts for the York 1190 Massacre*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones and Sethina Watson. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013, 278–93.
- . 'Jews of Stone'. In *the Middle* (February 24, 2010). <http://www.inthemedievalmiddle.com/2010/02/jews-of-stone.html> (accessed 24 November 2015).
- Cohen, Jeremy. *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Cole, Andrew and D. Vance Smith, eds. *The Legitimacy of the Middle Ages: On the Unwritten History of Theory*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Cole, Peter. *The Dream of the Poem: Hebrew Poetry from Muslim and Christian Spain, 950–1492*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Coleman, David. *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492–1600*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Connolly, Daniel K. *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2009.
- Conrad, Joseph. *Heart of Darkness*. Charlottesville: Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library, 1999.
- Contadini, Anna. 'Translocation and Transformation: Some Middle Eastern Objects in Europe'. In *The Power of Things and the Flow of Cultural Transformations*, ed. Lieselotte Saurma-Jeltsch and Anja Eisenbeiß. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010, 42–64.
- Conybeare, John William Edward. *A History of Cambridgeshire*. London: E. Stock, 1897.
- Coombes, Annie. 'The Object of Translation: Notes on "Art" and Autonomy in a Postcolonial Context'. In *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*, ed. Fred R. Myers. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 2001, 233–56.

- Copeland, Rita. *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Cowdrey, Herbert Edward John. 'The Mahdia Campaign of 1087'. *The English Historical Review* 92, no. 362 (1977), 1–29.
- Cristiani, Emilio. *Nobiltà e popolo nel comune di Pisa: Dalle origini del podestariato alla signoria dei Donoratico*. Naples: Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1962.
- Croucher, Sarah K., and Lindsay Weiss, eds. *The Archaeology of Capitalism in Colonial Contexts: Postcolonial Historical Archaeologies* (New York; London: Springer, 2011).
- Cuno, James. *Who Owns Antiquity? Museums and the Battle Over Our Ancient Heritage*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Cutler, Anthony. *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium (9th–11th Centuries)*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- . 'From Loot to Scholarship: Changing Modes in the Italian Response to Byzantine Artifacts, Ca. 1200–1750'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), 237–67.
- Damon, John Edward. *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors: Warfare and Sanctity in the Literature of Early England*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003.
- Daston, Lorraine, ed. *Things that Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science*. New York: Zone Books, 2004.
- David, Marianne and Javier Muñoz-Basols. 'The Sarajevo Haggadah: A Cultural Metaphor for Diaspora Studies'. In *Defining and Re-Defining Diaspora: From Theory to Reality*, ed. Marianne David and Javier Muñoz-Basols. Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2011, 251–270. www.inter-disciplinary.net/wp-content/uploads/.../basolspaper.pdf (accessed 01/07/2010), 1–17.
- Davies, Wendy. 'When Gift is Sale: Reciprocities and Commodities in Tenth-century Christian Iberia'. In *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fournier. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 217–37.
- Davis, Kathleen. *Periodization and Sovereignty: How Ideas of Feudalism and Secularization Govern the Politics of Time*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- , and Nadia Altschul, eds. *Medievalisms in the Postcolonial World: The Idea of the 'Middle Ages' Outside Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- Delaisié, L. M. J. 'A Liturgical Problem at the End of the Middle Ages: The "Missale Gallicum"'. In *Litterae Textuales: Essays Presented to G. I. Lieftinck*, ed. J. P. Gumbert and M. J. M. de Haan, vol. 4. Amsterdam: Van Gendt, 1976, 16–27.
- Déléry, Claire. 'Using Cuerda Seca Ceramics as a Historical Source to Evaluate Trade and Cultural Relations between Christian Ruled Lands and Al-Andalus, from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Centuries'. *al-Masaq* 21.1 (2009), 31–58.
- Delisle, Léopold. *Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V*, vol. 1. Paris: H. Champion, 1907.
- . *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, vol. 1. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1868.
- Deluz, Christiane. *Le Livre de Jehan de Mandeville: Une 'géographie' au XIVe siècle*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1988.
- Derolez, Albert. *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, repr. 2005.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Monolingualism of the Other: Or, The Prosthesis of Origin*, trans. Patrick Mensah. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Dietler, Michael. 'Consumption'. In *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, ed. Dan Hicks and Mary Carolyn Beaudry. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 209–28.
- . *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Díez Jorge, Maria Elena José, Manuel Gómez-Moreno Calera and Pedro A. Galera Andreu. *The Alhambra and the Generalife: An Art History Guide*, 2nd edition, trans Bryan Robinson. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2008.
- Discenza, Nicole Guenther. 'Power, Skill and Virtue in the Old English Boethius'. *Anglo-Saxon England* 26 (1997), 81–108.

- . *The King's English: Strategies of Translation in the Old English Boethius*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.
- Dodds, Jerrilynn. 'Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art'. In *The Art of Medieval Spain A.D. 500–1200*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993, 27–37.
- . 'Hunting in the Borderlands'. *Medieval Encounters* 14 (2008), 267–302.
- , Maria Rosa Menocal and Abigail Krasner Balbale. *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Dodi, Amos. *Studies in the Linguistic Tradition of Spanish Jews Before the Expulsion*. Beer Sheva: Ben Gurion University, 2000.
- Dommasnes, Liv Helga. 'Late Iron Age in Western Norway: Female Roles and Ranks as Deduced from an Analysis of Burial Customs'. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 15 (1982), 70–84.
- Donadio, Rachel. 'Vision of Home: Repatriated Works Back in Their Countries of Origin', *The New York Times*, 17 April 2014. www.nytimes.com/2014/04/20/arts/design/repatriated-works-back-in-their-countries-of-origin.html (accessed 14 October 2016).
- Donkin, Lucy and Hanna Vorholt eds. *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2012.
- Dotson, John E. *Merchant Culture in Fourteenth-Century Venice: The Zibaldone Da Canal*. Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994.
- Drapeau, Benoît. 'Les Traductions françaises de l'“Ordinaire de la Messe” jusqu'à la fin du XVIIe siècle', 2 vols. Paris: Institut Catholique, Ph.D. dissertation, 1971.
- DuBois, Thomas A. *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Duggan, Anne. 'The Cult of St. Thomas Becket in the Thirteenth Century'. In *St. Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford*, ed. Meryl Jancey. Hereford: Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1982, 21–44.
- . *Thomas Becket*. London: Arnold, 2004.
- Duncan, Archibald Alexander McBeth. 'John King of England and the Kings of Scots'. In *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S.D. Church. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999, 247–72.
- . *The Kingship of the Scots 842–1292*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002.
- Duncombe, Stephen. *Cultural Resistance Reader*. New York: W.W. Norton and Co. Inc., 2002.
- Dural, Sadrettin. *Protecting Çatalhöyük: Memoir of an Archaeological Site Guard*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007.
- Duzer, Chet van. 'Hic sunt dracones: The Geography and Cartography of Monsters'. *Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. Asa Simon Mittman and Peter Dendle. London: Ashgate, 2012, 387–436.
- Eaton, Tim. *Plundering the Past: Roman Stonework in Medieval Britain*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing 2000.
- Echevarria, Ana. 'Painting Politics in the Alhambra'. *Medieval Encounters* 14 (2008), 199–218.
- Ecker, Heather. 'How to Administer a Conquered City in Al-Andalus: Mosques, Parish Churches and Parishes'. *Medieval Encounters* 22 (2005), 45–65.
- Edmondson, Jonathan, Steve Mason and James Rives eds. *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Eggers, Hans Jürgen. *Der römische Import im freien Germanien*. Atlas der Urgeschichte 1. Hamburg: Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, 1951.
- Eggleton, Lara. 'Reuse and Reception in the Life of a Sixteenth-century Chimney-piece', *Renaissance Studies* 30.3 (2016), 389–409.
- Ekengren, Fredrik. *Ritualization – Hybridization – Fragmentation: The Mutability of Roman Vessels in Germania Magna A.D. 1–400*. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in Prima Quarto, 28. Lund: University of Lund, 2009.
- Elkins, James. *Our Beautiful, Dry, and Distant Texts: Art History as Writing*. University Park: Pennsylvania State Press, 1997.

- , Gustav Frank, and Sunil Manghani, eds. *Farewell to Visual Studies*. The Stone Summer Theory Institute at the Art Institute of Chicago. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015.
- Elliot, John Huxtable. *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716*. London: Penguin, 2002 (orig. ed. 1963).
- Engelhart, Helmut. *Die Würzburger Buchmalerei im hohen Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zu einer Gruppe illuminierter Handschriften aus der Werkstatt der Würzburger Dominikanerbibel von 1246*. Würzburg: Kommissionsverlag F. Schöningh, 1987.
- Epstein, Marc Michael. *Dreams of Subversion in Medieval Jewish Art and Literature*. Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.
- . *The Medieval Haggadah: Art, Narrative and Religious Imagination*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Epstein, Steven. *An Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe, 1000–1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Evans, Helen C., ed. *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.
- , and William D. Wixom, eds. *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.
- Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.
- Falk, Gerhard. *The Jew in Christian Theology: Martin Luther's Anti-Jewish Vom Schem Hamphoras, Previously Unpublished in English, and Other Milestones in Church Doctrine Concerning Judaism*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 1992.
- Farcy, Louis de. *Monographie de la cathédrale d'Angers*, vol. 1. Angers: Privately Printed, 1901.
- Farago, Claire and Donald Preziosi, eds. *Grasping the World: the Idea of the Museum*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Fawcett, Richard. *The Architecture of the Scottish Medieval Church*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Fedorchuk, A. 'Problems of Toning Treatment and Reconstruction of Losses in Icon-Painting'. In *Icons: Approaches to Research, Conservation and Ethical Issues*, Conference Proceedings. Athens, December 2006. <http://www.icon-network.org/Approaches-to-Ethical-Issues.html> (accessed 14 October 2016).
- Feliciano, María Judith. 'Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings? A Reassessment of Andalusi Textiles in Thirteenth-Century Castilian Life and Ritual'. *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*. Leiden: Brill, 2005, 101–32.
- Fisher, Bonifatius, Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, eds. *Biblia Sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994.
- Flavius Josephus. *The Jewish War*, ed. and trans. G.A. Williamson. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959.
- Flood, Finbarr B. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval 'Hindu-Muslim' Encounter*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Focillon, Henri. 'Le style monumental dans l'art de Jean Fouquet'. *Gazette des beaux-arts* 15 (1936), 17–32.
- Foreville, Raymonde, ed. *Thomas Becket: Actes du Colloque international de Sédieres 19–24 août 1973*. Paris: Beauchesne, 1975.
- Foster, Hal. 'Psychoanalysis in Modernism and as Method'. In *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*, ed. Hal Foster and Rosalind Krauss, 2 vols. London: Thames and Hudson, 2004, 15–21.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage, 1973.
- Franses, Rico 'When All that is Gold Does Not Glitter'. In *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium*, ed. Anthony Eastmond and Liz James. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, 13–24.
- Freedberg, David. *The Power of Images: Studies in the History of Theory and Response*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

- Freehof, Solomon B. 'Home Rituals and the Spanish Synagogue'. In *Beauty in Holiness: Studies in Jewish Customs and Ceremonial Art*, ed. Joseph Guttman. New York: Ktav, 1970, 501–13.
- Freeman, Edward Augustus. *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*, 6 vols. London: Clarendon Press, 1873–9.
- Freudenthal, Gad. 'Arabic and Latin Cultures as Resources for the Hebrew Translation Movement: Comparative Considerations, Both Quantitative and Qualitative'. In *Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures*, ed. G. Freudenthal. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 74–105.
- Friedman, Mira. 'The Four Sons of the Haggadah and the Ages of Man'. *Journal of Jewish Art* 11 (1985), 16–40.
- Frojmovic, Eva. 'Jewish Scribes and Christian Illuminators: Interstitial Encounters and Cultural Negotiation'. In *Between Judaism and Christianity: Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*, ed. Katrin Kogman-Appel and Mati Meyer. The Medieval Mediterranean, 81. Leiden: Brill, 2009, 281–306.
- . 'Jewish Mudejarismo and the Invention of Tradition'. In *Late Medieval Jewish Identities*, ed. E. Alfonso and C. Caballeros. New York: Palgrave, forthcoming.
- Fronda, Rahel. 'Attributing of Three Ashkenazi Bibles with Micrographic Images', *Ars Judaica* 9 (2013), 45–56.
- Gabrieli, Francesco. 'Guerra araba e arte araba'. In *Le ceramiche medievali delle chiese di Pisa: Contributo per una migliore comprensione delle loro caratteristiche e del loro significato quale documento di storia*, ed. G. Piancastelli Politi. 6–8. Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1983.
- Gadamer, Hans-Georg. *Truth and Method*, 2nd edition. New York: Continuum, 1989.
- Gaimster, Märit. 'Gold Bracteates and Necklaces: Political Ideals in the Sixth Century'. In *Roman Gold and the Development of the Early Germanic Kingdoms*, ed. Bente Magnus. KVHAA Konferenser 51. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2001, 143–156.
- Galera Mendoza, Esther. 'Espacios religiosos en la Alhambra en los Siglos XVI y XVII', *Docta Minerva. Homenaje a la Profesora Luz de Ulierte Vázquez*, ed. Felipe Serrano Estrella. Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2011, 191–215.
- Gampel, Benjamin R. 'Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval Iberia: *Convivencia* through the Eyes of Sephardic Jews'. In *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick and Jerrilynn Dodds. New York: George Braziller, 1992, 11–38.
- Gandhi, Leela. *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- Ganim, John M. 'Native Studies: Orientalism and Medievalism'. In *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000, 123–34.
- . *Medievalism and Orientalism: Three Essays on Literature, Architecture, and Cultural Identity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Garzella, Gabriella. *Pisa com'era: Topografia e insediamento: dall'impianto tardoantico alla città murata del secolo XII*. Pisa: GISEM, 1990.
- . 'Il Tempio di S. Sisto in Corte Vecchia nell'assetto urbano di Pisa medioevale'. In *Momenti di storia medioevale pisana: Discorsi per il giorno di S. Sisto*, ed. Ottavio Banti and Cinzio Violante. Pisa: Pacini, 1991, 189–98.
- . 'Le vicende storiche'. In *La chiesa di S. Stefano extra moenia*, ed. Gabriella Garzella and Maria Cataldi. Pisa: ETS, 2003, 5–13.
- Gaudio, Michael. 'Matthew Paris and the Cartography of the Margins'. *Gesta* 39.1 (2000), 50–6.
- Geary, Patrick. *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Geh, Hans-Peter and Gerhard Römer eds, *Mittelalterliche Andachtsbücher: Psalterien, Stundenbücher, Gebetbücher; Zeugnisse europäischer Frömmigkeit: eine Ausstellung der Badischen und der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek zum 91. Deutschen Katholikentag in Karlsruhe 1992*. Karlsruhe: Badische Landesbibliothek, 1992.

- Gelichi, Sauro, Graziella Berti, and Sergio Nepoti. 'Relazione introduttiva sui "bacini"'. 26. *convegno internazionale della ceramica: I bacini murati medievale: Problemi e stato della ricerca: Att : Albisola, 28–30 Maggio 1993*. Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 1996, 7–30.
- Gelin, Marie-Pierre. 'Heroes and Traitors: the Life of Thomas Becket in French Stained Glass'. *Vidimus* 14 (2008), <http://vidimus.org/issues/issue-14/feature/>
- Georgopoulou, Maria. 'Orientalism and Crusader Art: Constructing a New Canon'. *Medieval Encounters* 5.3 (1999), 289–321.
- Gerber, Jane S. *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience*. New York: The Free Press, 1992.
- Gerrard, James. *The Ruin of Roman Britain: An Archaeological Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Gerstel, Sharon and Robert Nelson, eds. *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.
- . 'Monastic Soundspaces in Late Byzantium: The Art and Act of Chanting'. In *Resounding Images: Medieval Intersections of Art, Music, and Sound*, eds. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, 135–152.
- Giese, Wolfgang. 'In Iudaismum lapsus est: jüdische Proselytenmacherei im frühen und hohen Mittelalter (600–1300)'. *Historisches Jahrbuch* 88 (1968), 407–18.
- Gildas. *The Ruin of Britain and Other Documents*, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom. London: Phillimore, 1978.
- Giles, J. A. *Matthew Paris's English History: From the Year 1235 to 1273*. London: G. Bell, 1889. Available online through the Hathi Trust Digital Library at <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.32000000637670> (accessed March 2014).
- Gillingham, John. *The Angevin Empire*, 2nd edition. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Gimson, G.S. 'Lion Hunt: A Royal Tomb-Effigy at Arbroath Abbey'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 125 (1995), 901–16.
- Giusti, Enrico, ed. *Un ponte sul Mediterraneo: Leonardo Pisano, la scienza araba e la rinascita della matematica in Occidente*. Firenze: Polistampa, 2002.
- Glick, Thomas. *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- Glowacka, Dorota and Stephen Boos, eds. *Between Ethics and Aesthetics: Crossing the Boundaries*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.
- Godden, Malcolm, and Susan Irvine, eds. *The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Version of Boethius's De consolazione Philosophiae*, 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Goez, Werner. *Translatio Imperii: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1958.
- Golden Haggadah*. British Library Online Gallery. <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/ttp/hagadah/accessible/introduction.html> (accessed 11 November 2015)
- Goldin, Simha. *Jewish Women in Europe in the Middle Ages: A Quiet Revolution*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.
- Goldthwaite, Richard A. *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- González, Gómez-Moreno. *Guía de Granada*, 2 vols. Granada: Indalecio Ventura, 1892.
- . *Las águilas del Renacimiento español*. Ordoñez, Siloe, Machuca, Berruguete. Madrid: Instituto Diego Valázquez, 1941.
- González-Ruibal, Alfredo. 'Experiencia, Narración, Personas: Elementos para una arqueología comprensible'. *Complutum* 17 (2006), 235–46.
- . 'Experiencia, Narración, Personas: Elementos para una arqueología comprensible', *Complutum* 17 (2006), 235–46.

- . 'Vernacular Cosmopolitanism: An Archaeological Critique of Universalistic Reason'. In *Cosmopolitan Archaeologies*, ed. Lynn Meskell. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009, 113–39.
- Gosden, Chris. 'Postcolonial Archaeology: Issues of Culture, Identity, and Knowledge'. In *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed. Ian Hodder. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001, 241–261.
- . *Archaeology and Colonialism: Cultural Contact from 5000 BC to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Goudeau, Jeroen, Mariëtte Verhoeven, and Wouter Weijers eds. *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Gougaud, L. 'La croyance au répit périodique des damnés dans les légendes irlandaises'. *Mélanges bretons et celtiques offerts à MJ Loth*, ed. H. Champion. Paris-Rennes: H. Champion-Plihon et Hommay, 1927, 63–72.
- Gow, Andrew Colin. *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age, 1200–1600*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Grabar, Oleg. 'The Shared Culture of Objects'. In *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1997, 115–29.
- , and Saïd Nuseibeh. *The Dome of the Rock*. New York: Rizzoli, 1996.
- Gregory of Tours. *The History of the Franks*, ed. and trans. Lewis Thorpe. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974.
- Gregory, Chris. A. *Gifts and Commodities*. London: Academic Press, 1982.
- . *Savage Money: The Anthropology and Politics of Commodity Exchange*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 1997.
- Grodecki, Louis. *Les Vitraux du centre et des pays de la Loire*, Corpus Vitrearum: France, Recensement II. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981.
- Guerry, Emily Davenport. 'The Wall Paintings of the Sainte-Chapelle'. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2013.
- Guttman, Joseph. *Hebrew Manuscript Painting*. New York: George Braziller, 1978.
- . 'Masorah Figurata: The Origins and Development of a Jewish Art Form'. In Joseph Guttman, *Sacred Images: Studies in Jewish Art from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*. Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989, ch. XV.
- Gutwirth, Eli, 'Hispano-Jewish Attitudes to the Moors in the Fifteenth Century'. *Sefarad* 49.2 (1989), 237–61.
- Haapala, Arto and Oiva Kuisma, eds. *Aesthetic Experience and the Ethical Dimension: Essays on Moral Problems in Aesthetics*. Helsinki: Philosophical Society of Finland, 2003.
- Hadley, Margaret E. 'The Yale Missal (Beinecke MS 425): Mendicant Spirituality and a Vernacular Mass Book from the Fouquet Circle'. New Haven: Yale University, Ph.D. dissertation; Ann Arbor: UMI, 2007.
- . 'Cradle and Grave: Commemorating Individual Victims of Infant Mortality'. In *The Early Modern Child in Art and History*, ed. Matthew Knox Averett. London: Pickering & Chatto Ltd., 2015, 21–34.
- . 'Residential College Rules in Leipzig in the Early Sixteenth Century: The Poem *Carmen statuta comprehendens modumque vivendi honestum scholarium sive studentum* (Beinecke MS 209)'. *New Studies on Yale Manuscripts from the Late Antique to the Early Modern Period*, ed Robert Babcock. *Yale University Library Gazette, Occasional Supplement* 7 (June 2005), 129–45.
- Hahn, Cynthia. *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400–circa 1204*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012.
- Hall, Alaric. 'The Images and Structure of *The Wife's Lament*'. In *Leeds Studies in English* ns 33 (2002), 1–29.
- Hall, Stuart. 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora'. In *Identity: Community, Culture, and Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990, 222–37.

- Hamburger, Jeffrey. *Script as Image*. Leuven: Peeters, 2014.
- Harbus, Antonina. *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002.
- Harris, Anne F. and Karen Eileen Overbey. 'Field Change/Discipline Change'. In *Burn After Reading/The Future We Want: A Collaboration*, ed. Eileen A. Joy, Myra Seaman and Jeffrey Jerome Cohen. New York and Washington, DC: Punctum and Oliphaunt Books, 2014, 127–43.
- Harris, Julie. 'Polemical Images in the Golden Haggadah (BL add 27210)', *Medieval Encounters* 8.2 (2002), 105–22.
- . 'Good Jews, Bad Jews, and No Jews at All – Ritual Imagery and Social Standards in the Catalan Haggadot', in *Church, State, Vellum, and Stone: Essays on Medieval Spain in Honor of John Williams*, ed. Therese Martin and Julie A. Harris (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 275–96, 285–6.
- . 'Love in the Land of Goshen: Haggadah, History, and the Making of British Library, MS Oriental 2737', *Gesta* 52/2 (2013), 161–80.
- Harris, Kate A. *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.
- Harvey, Leonard P. *Islamic Spain: 1250–1500*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Harvey, P.D.A. *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land*. London: The British Library, 2012.
- Hatt, Michael and Charlotte Klonk. *Art History: A Critical Introduction to Its Methods*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.
- Hauck, Karl. 'Neue Windgott-Amulette (Zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten 1)'. In *Festschrift für Herman Heimpel*. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Plancks-Instituts für Geschichte 36:3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972, 627–60.
- . 'Gott als Arzt: Eine exemplarische Skizze mit Text- und Bildzeugnissen aus drei verschiedenen Religionen zu Phänomenon und Gebärden der Heilung (Zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten 16)'. In *Text und Bild: Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit*, ed. Christel Meier and Uwe Ruberg. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980, 19–62.
- , ed. *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit 1,2. Ikonographischer Katalog*. Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften 24/1,3. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1985.
- , ed. *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit 1,2. Ikonographischer Katalog*. Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften 24/2,2. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1986.
- , ed. *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit 1,2. Ikonographischer Katalog*. Münsterische Mittelalter-Schriften 24/3,2. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1989.
- Hauken, Åsa Dahlin. *The Westland Cauldrons in Norway*. AmS-Skrifter 19. Stavanger: Arkeologisk Museum, 2005.
- Hayward, Jane and Louis Grodecki. 'Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers', *Bulletin Monumental*, 124 (1966), 29–53.
- Hedeager, Lotte. *Skygger af en anden virkelighed: Oldnordiske myter*. Copenhagen: Samleren, 1997.
- . 'Dyr og andre mennesker – mennesker og andre dyr: Dyreornamentikkens transcendentale realitet'. In *Ordning mot kaos: Studier av nordisk förkristen kosmologi*, ed. Anders Andrén, Kristina Jennbert, and Catharina Raudvere. Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2004, 219–87.
- Hedeman, Anne D. *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274–1422*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- . *Translating the Past: Laurent de Premierfait and Boccaccio's De casibus*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008.
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *System of Ethical Life and First Philosophy of Spirit*, ed. and trans. H. S. Harris and T. M. Knox. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1979.
- Heidegger, Martin. 'Building, Dwelling, Thinking'. In *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter. New York: Harper Perennial, 1971, 143–59.
- . *Parmenides*, trans. André Schuwer and Richard Rojcewicz. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992.

- Heinzer, Felix, ed. *Der Landgrafenpsalter: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat der Handschrift HB II 24 der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1992.
- Heizmann, Wilhelm. 'Gold, Macht, Kult: Karl Haucks Studien zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten'. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 41 (2007), 11–23.
- , and Morten Axboe, eds. *Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit—Auswertung und Neufunde*. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 40. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011.
- Helms, Mary W. *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Heng, GERALINE. *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Hess, Andrew C. 'The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column in Sixteenth-Century Spain'. *The American Historical Review*, 74.1 (1968), 1–25.
- Hiatt, Alfred. 'Blank Spaces on the Earth'. *The Yale Journal of Criticism*, 15.2 (2002), 223–50.
- Higgins, Iain Macleod. *Writing East: The "Travels" of Sir John Mandeville*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- . 'Defining the Earth's Center in a Medieval "Multi-Text": Jerusalem in *The Book of John Mandeville*'. In *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sealy Anne Gilles and Sylvia Tomasch. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998, 29–53.
- . *The Book of John of Mandeville, with Related Texts*. Cambridge: Hachett Publishing, 2011.
- Hines, John. *Voices in the Past: English Literature and Archaeology*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004.
- Hinton, David A. *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Hobart, Michelle. 'Sardinian Medieval Churches and Their *Bacini*: Architecture Embedded with Archeology'. Unpublished PhD dissertation, New York University, 2006.
- Hodder, Ian. 'The Past as Passion and Play: Çatalhöyük as a Site of Conflict in the Construction of Multiple Pasts'. In *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*, ed. Lynn Meskell. London: Routledge, 1998, 124–39.
- Hoffmann, Annette and Gerhard Wolf eds. *Jerusalem as Narrative Space/Erzählraum Jerusalem*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Hoffman, Eva. 'Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century'. *Art History* 24.1 (February 2001), 17–50.
- . 'Translation in Ivory: Interactions across Cultures and Media in the Mediterranean During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries'. In *Siculo-Arabic Ivories and Islamic Painting, 1100–1300*, ed. David Knipp. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2011, 99–119.
- Holsinger, Bruce W. 'Medieval Studies, Postcolonial Studies, and the Genealogies of Critique'. *Speculum*, 77.4 (2002), 1195–1227.
- Hooke, Della. *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*. London: Leicester University Press, 1998.
- hooks, bell 'Marginality as a Site of Resistance'. In *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, ed. Russell Ferguson, Martha Gever, Trinh T. Minh-ha and Cornel West. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990, 341–3.
- Horkheimer, Max. *Critical Theory: Selected Essays*. New York: Seabury Press, 1972.
- Howard, Deborah. *Venice & the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Howe, Nicholas. *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

- . 'The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented, Imagined'. *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, ed. John Howe and Michael Wolfe. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2002, 91–112.
- . 'Rome: Capital of Anglo-Saxon England'. *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34.1 (2004), 147–72.
- . *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Hoy, David Couzens. *Critical Resistance: From Poststructuralism to Post-Critique*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2005.
- Hucher, Eugène. 'Monuments funéraires et sigillographiques des vicomtes de Beaumont au Maine', In *Revue Historique et Archéologique du Maine*, 11 (1882), 319–408.
- Huggan, Graham. *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Iancu-Agou, Daniele. 'Provence: Jewish Settlement, Mobility and Culture'. In *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20–25th October 2002*, ed. Christoph Cluse. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004, 175–89.
- Idrissi Alami, Ahmed. *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-cultural Encounters in Pre-colonial Moroccan and European Travel Writing*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2013.
- Imer, Lisbeth. 'Latin og græsk i romersk jernalder – fremmed indflydelse på Nordens tidligste runeskrift'. *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 2004, 63–105.
- Ingham, Patricia Clare and Michelle R. Warren eds. *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Inglis, Erik. *Jean Fouquet and the Invention of France: Art and Nation after the Hundred Years War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Irish Museum of Modern Art. *From Beyond the Pale: Art and Artists at the Edge of Consensus*. Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art, 1994.
- Isidore, *Etymologiae*, ed. W. M. Lindsay. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911.
- J. Paul Getty Museum. 'Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai'. *The J. Paul Getty Museum*. http://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/icons_sinai/ (accessed 14 October 2016).
- Jacoby, David. 'The Supply of War Materials to Egypt in the Crusader Period'. *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001), 102–32.
- . 'The Pisan Commercial Manual of 1278'. In *Quel mar che la terra inghirlanda: In ricordo di Marco Tangheroni*, ed. Franco Cardini and Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut, 2 vols. Pisa: Pacini, 2007, 449–64.
- James, Liz. 'Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium'. *Art History* 27.4 (2004), 522–37.
- Jesch, Judith. *Women in the Viking Age*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991.
- Jehel, Georges. 'Jews and Muslims in Medieval Genoa: From the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century'. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10.1 (1995), 131–32.
- Jencks, Charles. *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*. New York: Rizzoli, 1984.
- Jensen, Sune Qvortrop. 'Othering, Identity Formation and Agency'. *Qualitative Studies* 2.2 (2011), 63–78.
- Jochens, Jenny. *Women in Old Norse Society*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Jordan, Alyce A. 'Rhetoric and Reform: The St Thomas Becket Window of Sens Cathedral'. In *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, ed. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009, 547–64.
- . 'The "Water of Thomas Becket": Water as Medium, Metaphor and Relic'. In *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance*, ed. Cynthia Kosso and Anne Scott. Leiden: Brill, 2009, 479–500.
- Joselit, David. *Feedback: Television against Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007.
- Josephus, Flavius. *The Jewish War*, ed. and trans. G. A. Williamson. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959.

- Kabir, Ananya Jahanara. *Paradise, Death and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature*. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- , and Deanne Williams, eds. *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Kanarfogel, Ephraim. 'Returning to the Jewish Community in Medieval Ashkenaz: History and Halakhah'. In *Turim: Studies in Jewish History and Literature Presented to Dr. Bernard Lander*, ed. Michael A. Shmidman. New York: Touro College Press, 2007, vol. 1, 69–97.
- Karkov, Catherine E. 'Sheela-na-gigs and Other Unruly Women: Images of Land and Gender in Medieval Ireland'. In *'From Ireland Coming...'*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Princeton University Press/Index of Christian Art, 2001), 313–31.
- . 'Tales of the Ancients: Colonial Werewolves and the Mapping of Postcolonial Ireland'. In *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval through Modern*, ed. Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren. New York: Palgrave, 2003, 93–109.
- . *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011.
- . 'Postcolonial'. In *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Studies*, ed. Jacqueline Stodnick and Renée R. Trilling. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, 149–63.
- . 'The Arts of Writing: Voice, Image, Object', in *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. Clare A. Lees. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 73–98.
- . 'Hagar and Ishmael: The Uncanny and the Exile'. In *Imagining the Jew: Jewishness in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture*, ed. Samantha Zacher. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016, 197–219.
- Katz, Jacob. *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times*. New York: Behrman House, 1961.
- . *The Shabbes Goy: A Study in Halakhic Flexibility*. Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society, 1989.
- Kedar, Benjamin. *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-century Depression*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- Kennedy, Valerie. *Edward Said: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000.
- Keynes, Simon and Michaelol Lapidge, eds. *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and other Contemporary Sources*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983.
- King, Elaine A. and Gail Levin, eds. *Ethics and the Visual Arts*. New York: Allworth, 2006.
- Kinoshita, Sharon. 'Marco Polo's *Le Devisement dou monde* and the Tributary East'. In *Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West*, ed. Suzanne Conklin Akbari and Amilcare Ianucci. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008, 60–86.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 'Reflections'. In *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*, ed. Fred R. Myers. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2001, 257–68.
- Klein, Elka. *Jews, Christian Society and Royal Power in Medieval Barcelona*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009.
- Klemm, Elisabeth. *Die illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts deutscher Herkunft in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998.
- Knowles, David. *Thomas Becket*. London: A & C Black 1970.
- Koerner, Joseph. 'The Icon as Iconoclasm'. In *Iconoclasm*, ed. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002, 164–213.
- Kogman-Appel, Katrin. 'The Sephardic Picture Cycles and the Rabbinic Tradition: Continuity and Innovation in Jewish Iconography'. *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 60.4 (1997), 451–81.
- . 'The Picture Cycle of the Rylands Haggadah and the So-Called Brother Haggadah and their Relation to the Western Tradition of Old Testament Illustration'. *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library, Manchester* 79.2 (1997), 3–20.
- . 'Jewish Art and Non-Jewish Culture: The Dynamics of Artistic Borrowing in Medieval Hebrew Manuscript Illumination'. *Jewish History* 15 (2001), 187–234.

- . *Jewish Book Art Between Islam and Christianity: The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain*, trans. Judith Davidson. The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, 19. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- . *Illuminated Haggadot from Medieval Spain: Biblical Imagery and the Passover Holiday*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.
- . 'Christianity, Idolatry, and the Question of Jewish Figural Painting in the Middle Ages'. *Speculum* 84.1 (2009), 73–107.
- , and Mati Meyer, eds. *Between Judaism and Christianity: Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher*. The Medieval Mediterranean, 81. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Kopytoff, Igor. 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process'. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 64–91.
- Kourelis, Kostis. 'Byzantine Houses and Modern Fictions: Domesticating Mystras in 1930s Greece', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 65–66 (2011–2012), 297–331.
- . 'Byzantium and the Avant-Garde: Excavations at Corinth, 1920s–1930s', *Hesperia* 76 (2007), 391–442.
- Krauss, Rosalind. *The Optical Unconscious*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993.
- Kreutz, Barbara M. *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Kristoffersen, Siv. 'Half Beast-Half Man: Hybrid Figures in Animal Art'. *World Archaeology* 42 (2010), 261–272.
- Kritzman, Lawrence D. 'Foreword: In Remembrance of Things French'. In *Realms of Memory: Conflicts and Divisions*, ed. Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, ix–xiv.
- Kromann, Anne. 'Die römische Münzen von Gudme'. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 21 (1987), 61–73.
- Krummel, Miriamne Ara. *Crafting Jewishness in Medieval England: Legally Absent, Virtually Present*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011.
- Kuder, Ulrich. 'Der Hiltegerus-Psalter (sog. Würzburg-Ebracher Psalter) der Universitätsbibliothek München 4° Cod. ms. 24 (Cim. 15)'. In *Studien zur Buchmalerei des 13. Jahrhunderts in Franken. Zum Hiltegerus Psalter (UB München 4° Cod. Ms. 24 [Cim 5]) und dem stilistischen Umfeld des Komburger Psalters (WLB Stuttgart Cod. Bibl. 2° 46)*, ed. Klaus Gereon Beuckers. Kiel: Ludwig, 2011, 15–159.
- Kumler, Aden. 'The Multiplication of the Species: Eucharistic Morphology in the Middle Ages'. *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 59/60 (2011), 179–91.
- , and Christopher Lakey, 'Res et Significatio: The Material Sense of Things in the Middle Ages', *Gesta* 51.1 (2012), 1–17.
- Kupfer, Marcia. '"... lectures ... plus vraies": Hebrew Script and Jewish Witness in the Mandeville Manuscript of Charles V'. *Speculum* 83.1 (2008), 58–111.
- Lacan, Jacques. *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*, trans. Alan Sheridan. London: Verso, 1994.
- Laffitte, Marie-Pierre, and Charlotte Denoël. *Trésors carolingiens: Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve*. Antwerp: Deckers Druk, 2007.
- LaFrance, Adrienne. 'Hearing the Lost Sounds of Antiquity', *The Atlantic* (19 Feb. 2016). <http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2016/02/byzantine-angel-wings/470076/> (accessed 11 May 2016).
- Laiou, Angeliki. 'Venice as a Centre of Trade and Artistic Production in the Thirteenth Century'. In *Il medio oriente e l'occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, ed. Hans Belting. Bologna: Cooperative Libreria Universitaria, 1982, 11–26.
- Lampe, Geoffrey W.H. *Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

- Lang, James. 'The Imagery of the Franks Casket: Another Approach'. In *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999, 227–46.
- Latour, Bruno. *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- . 'Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern', *Critical Inquiry* 30 (Winter 2004), 225–48.
- . *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Le Goff, Jacques. *Marchands et Banquiers du Moyen-Age*, 9th edition. Paris: PUF, 2001.
- Leroquais, Victor. *Les Sacramentaires et missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 1. Mâcon: Protat Frères, 1924.
- Leventhal, Richard. *What is Cultural Property? And Why is it Important?* Ethnohistory Workshop, Unpublished Working Paper, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 2007, 1–12.
- Levinson, Jerrold, ed. *Aesthetics and Ethics: Essays at the Intersection*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Lewis, Charleton and Charles Short. *A New Latin Dictionary*. New York: American Book Co., 1879.
- Lewis, Suzanne. *The Art of Matthew Paris in the 'Chronica Majora'*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- . *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Liebmann, Matthew. 'Introduction: The Intersections of Archaeology and Postcolonial Studies'. In *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*, eds. Matthew Liebman and Uzma Z. Rizvi. Lanham MD: AltaMira Press, 2008, 1–20.
- Liebeschuetz, Wolf. 'The Debate about the Ethnogenesis of Germanic Tribes'. In *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Avril Cameron*, ed. Hagit Amirav and Bas ter Haar Romeny. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.
- Lindeberg, Marta. 'Gold, Gods and Women'. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 5 (1997), 99–110.
- Lingas, Alexander. 'Medieval Byzantine Chant and the Sound of Orthodoxy'. In *Byzantine Orthodoxies*, eds. Andrew Louth and Augustine Casiday. Farnham: Ashgate, 2006, 131–50.
- Lipton, Sara. *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Little, Charles T. 'The Road to Glory: New Early Images of Thomas Becket's Life'. In *Reading Medieval Images: The Art Historian and the Object*, ed. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002, 201–11.
- Lochrie, Karma. 'Provincializing Medieval Europe: Mandeville's Cosmopolitan Utopia'. *PMLA*, 124.2 (2009), 592–599.
- Lockman, Zachary. *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Logan, F. Donald. *The Medieval Historian and the Quest for Certitude*. The Etienne Gilson Series 27. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2005.
- Lopez, Robert S. 'The Culture of the Medieval Merchant'. *Medieval and Renaissance Studies: Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1979), 52–73.
- Lopez, Robert S. and Gabriella Airdi. 'Il più antico manuale italiano di pratica della mercatura'. *Miscellanea di studi storici* 2 (1983), 99–117.
- Lopez, Robert S., Irving Raymond, and Olivia Remie Constable. *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Lourie, Elena. *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Medieval Aragon*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1990.

- Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- . *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Lowney, Chris. *A Vanished World: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Spain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Lund Hansen, Ulla. *Römischer Import in Norden: Warenaustausch zwischen dem Römischen Reich und dem freien Germanien während der Kaiserzeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Nordeuropas*. Nordiske Fordtidsminder B:10. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige nordiske Oldskriftselskab, 1987.
- Lusignan, Serge. *Parler vulgairement: Les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986.
- . *La Langue des rois au Moyen Âge: Le Français en France et en Angleterre*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2004.
- Luzzatto, Aldo, and Luisa Mortara Ottolenghi. *Hebraica Ambrosiana: Catalogue of Undescribed Hebrew Manuscripts in the Ambrosiana Library; Description of Decorated and Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts in the Ambrosiana Library*. Milan: Edizioni il Polifilo, 1972.
- MacCormack, Patricia. 'Post-Human Teratology'. In *Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*, ed. Asa Simon Mittman and Peter Dendle. London: Ashgate, 2012, 293–310.
- MacKenzie, John M. *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.
- Mackeprang, Mogens B. *De Nordiske Goldbrakteater*. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter 2. Århus: Universitets-forlaget, 1952.
- Mackie, Robert Laird, Stewart Cruden and Richard Fawcett. *Arbroath Abbey*. Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1982.
- Malkiel, David. *Reconstructing Ashkenaz: The Human Face of Franco-German Jewry, 1000–1250*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.
- Malmer, Mats. *Metodproblem inom järnålderns konsthistoria*. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in Octavo 3. Lund: Gleerup, 1963.
- Maltby, William. *The Reign of Charles V*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Mann, Vivian B., Thomas F. Glick, Jerrilynn Dodds, eds. *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*. New York: George Braziller, 1992.
- Marcus, Ivan G. 'A Jewish-Christian Symbiosis: The Early Culture of Ashkenaz'. In *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*, ed. David Biale. New York: Schocken Books, 2002, 449–516.
- Margoliuth, George. *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*. Part II. London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1965 (first ed. 1905).
- Martin, Max. '24 Scheiben aus Goldblech und 17 goldene Medaillons: Eine "Gleichung" mit vielen Unbekannten'. In *Barbarenschmuck und Römergold: Der Schatz von Szilágysomlyó*, ed. Wilfried Seipel. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1999, 113–19.
- Mathews, Karen. 'Plunder of War or Objects of Trade? The Reuse and Reception of Andalusi Objects in Medieval Pisa'. *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 4, no. 2 (2012), 233–58.
- . 'Other Peoples' Dishes: The Use and Meaning of Bacini (Ceramic Basins) as Decoration on Eleventh-century Churches in Pisa'. *Gesta* 53/1 (2014), 5–23.
- Mattingly, David J., ed. *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse, and Discrepant Experience in the Roman Empire*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 23. Portsmouth, RI: JRA, 1997.
- . *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Maxfield, Valerie A. *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Mayr-Harting, Henry. *The Venerable Bede, the Rule of St Benedict, and Social Class*. [Jarrow]: Rector of Jarrow, 1976.

- McGuire, Randall. *Archaeology as Political Action*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- McKinnell, John. 'The Context of Völundarkviða'. In *The Poetic Edda: Essays on Old Norse Mythology*, ed. Paul Acker and Carolyne Larrington. London: Routledge, 2002, 198–212.
- Mehan, Uppinder, and David Townsend. '“Nation” and the Gaze of the Other in Eighth-Century Northumbria'. *Comparative Literature* 53.1 (2001), 1–26.
- Mehrez, Samia. 'Translation and the Postcolonial Experience: The Francophone North African Text'. In *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*, ed. Lawrence Venuti. New York: Routledge, 1992, 120–38.
- Melamed, Abraham. *The Image of the Black in Jewish Culture: A History of the Other*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Menache, Sophia. 'Papal Attempts at a Commercial Boycott of the Muslims in the Crusader Period'. *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 62, no. 2 (2012), 236–59.
- Menocal, María Rosa. 'Al-Andalus and 1492: The Ways of Remembering'. *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi. Leiden: Brill, 1992, 483–504.
- . *Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*. New York: Little, Brown, 2002.
- Menut, Albert, ed. *Le Livre de Ethiques d'Aristotle*. New York: G. E. Stechert, 1940.
- Merback, Mitchell B. ed. *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Meskell, Lynn. *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present*. Oxford: Berg, 2004.
- , ed., *Archaeologies of Materiality*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005.
- Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Enamels of Limoges 1100–1350*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996.
- Metzger, Mendel. *La Haggada Enluminée*. Leiden: Brill, 1973.
- Metzger, Thérèse. 'Le manuscrit enluminé Cod. Hebr. 5 de la Bibliothèque d'Etat à Munich'. In *Etudes de civilisation médiévale, IXe–XIIe siècles; mélanges offerts à Edmond René Labande*. Poitiers: C.E.S.C.M., 1974, 537–52.
- . *Die Bibel von Meschullam und Joseph Qalonymos Ms. M 1106 der Universitätsbibliothek Breslau (Wrocław)*. Würzburg: Kommissionsverlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1994.
- . 'Meir ben Barukh de Rothembourg et la question des images chez les Juifs au moyen âge'. *Aschkenas – Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 4.1 (1994), 33–82.
- , and Mendel Metzger. *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages: Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries*. New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collection Ltd., 1982.
- Meyer, James. 'The Minimal Unconscious'. *October* 130 (2009), 141–76.
- Meyerson, Mark D., and Edward D. English. *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000.
- Michelant, Henri Victor and Gaston Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem: et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigées en français aux XIe, XIIe & XIIIe siècles*. Paris: Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1882.
- Michelet, Fabienne L. *Creation, Migration, and Conquest: Imaginary Geography and Sense of Space in Old English Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Mikosch, Gunnar. 'Bildverbot? – Selbstimaginationen in der jüdischen Bildwelt des Mittelalters'. In *Fremdbilder – Selbstbilder. Imaginationen des Judentums in Antike und Mittelalter*, ed. René Bloch, Simone Haeblerli, Rainer Christoph Schwinges. Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2010, 109–34.
- Miller, Daniel. *Capitalism: An Ethnographic Approach*. Oxford: Berg, 1997.
- . 'Alienable Gifts and Inalienable Commodities'. In *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*, ed. Fred R. Myers. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2001, 91–115.

- , ed. *Materiality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Miller, Konrad. *Mappaemundi: Die ältesten Weltkarten*, 3 vols. Stuttgart: J. Roth, 1895–98.
- Millet, Martin. *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Milone, Antonio. ‘“Arabitas” pisana e medioevo mediterraneo: Relazioni artistiche tra XI e XIII secolo’. In *Fibonacci tra arte e scienza*, ed. Luigi Radicati. Cinisello Balsamo (Milano): Silvana editoriale, 2002, 101–31.
- Mitchell, James B. ‘Popular Autobiography As Historiography: The Reality Effect of Frank McCourt’s *Angela’s Ashes*’. *Biography*, 26.4 (2003), 607–24.
- Mitchell, W.J.T. ‘Cloning Terror: The War of Images 2001–04’. In *The Life and Death of Images: Ethics and Aesthetics*, ed. Diarmuid Costello and Dominic Willsdon. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008, 179–207.
- Mittman, Asa Simon. ‘The Other Close at Hand: Gerald of Wales and the “Marvels of the West”’. In *The Monstrous Middle Ages*, ed. Robert Mills and Bettina Bildhauer. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003, 97–112.
- . *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- . ‘Prester John: A Utopian Fantasy of the Crusaders’. *World History: Ancient and Medieval Eras* (ABC-CLIO, 2011). <http://ancienthistory2.abc-clio.com/> (accessed October 14, 2011).
- . ‘Forking Paths? Matthew Paris, Jorge Luis Borges, and Maps of the Labyrinth’. *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*, 4:1 (2013), 134–160.
- . ‘Are the Monstrous “Races” Races?’ *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 6:1 (2015), 36–51.
- , and Peter J. Dendle, eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous*. London: Ashgate, 2013.
- , and Susan M. Kim. *Inconceivable Beasts: The Wonders of the East in the Beowulf Manuscript*. Tempe, AZ: The Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2013.
- Montebello, Philippe de, and N. Herzberg. ‘Et si c’était le musée idéal?’. *Le Monde*, 14 October 2007.
- Montelius, Oscar. *Från jernaldern*. Stockholm: n.p., 1869.
- . ‘Den nordiska jernalderns kronologi. III. 6. Jernalderns sjettede periode’. *Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift* (1900), 55–130.
- Morelli, Marcello and Marco Tangheroni. *Leonardo Fibonacci: Il tempo, le opere, l’eredità scientifica*. Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1994.
- Morgan, David. *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- . *The Embodied Eye: Religious Visual Culture and the Social Life of Feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
- Moseley, C.W.R.D. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, revised edition. London: Penguin, 2005.
- Muir, Bernard J., ed. *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: An Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501*, 2 vols. Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1994.
- Müller, Karlheinz. ‘Bildungsrang und Spiritualität der Würzburger Juden’. In *Vom hohen Mittelalter bis zum Beginn des konfessionellen Zeitalters. Unterfränkische Geschichte*, ed. Peter Kolb and Ernst-Günter Krenig. Würzburg: Echter, 1992, 374–401.
- . ‘Die jüdische Gemeinde’. In *Geschichte der Stadt Würzburg*, ed. Ulrich Wagner, vol. 1. Stuttgart: Theiss, 2001, 515–42.
- . *Die Würzburger Judengemeinde im Mittelalter. Von den Anfängen bis zum Tod Julius Eichters (1617)*. Würzburg: Freunde Mainfränkischer Kunst und Geschichte, 2004, 44–62.
- Müller, Rebecca. *Spolien und Trophäen im mittelalterlichen Genua: Sic hostes Ianua frangit*. Weimar: VDG, 2002.
- Mulligan, Connie J. ‘Anthropological Applications of Ancient DNA: Problems and Prospects’. *American Antiquity* 71 (2006), 365–80.
- Myers, Fred. ‘Objects on the Loose’. *Ethnos* 64 (1999), 263–73.

- . 'Introduction: The Empire of Things'. In *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*, ed. Fred R. Myers. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 2001, 3–61.
- Nader, Helen. *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 to 1550*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979.
- Naficy, Hamid. *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Nagel, Alexander. *Medieval Modern: Art Out of Time*. London: Thames and Hudson Press, 2012.
- Naor, Bezalel. *Ma'amar al Yishma'el: Rabbi Solomon ben Abraham ibn Adret*. Spring Valley: Orot, 2008.
- Narkiss, Bezalel. *Illuminated Manuscripts of the British Isles: The Spanish and Portuguese Manuscripts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Nelson, Jonathan and Richard Zeckhauser. *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Nelson, Robert S. 'The Discourse of Icons, Then and Now', *Art History*, 12.2 (1989), 144–57.
- . 'The Map of Art History'. *The Art Bulletin* 79.1 (1997), 28–40.
- . 'The History of Legends and the Legends of History: The Pilastri Acritani in Venice'. *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, ed. Henry Maguire and Robert Nelson. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010, 63–90.
- , and Kirsten M. Collins, eds. *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007.
- Neuman de Vegvar, Carol. 'The Traveling Twins: Romulus and Remus in Anglo-Saxon England'. In *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999, 256–67.
- . 'Reading the Franks Casket: Contexts and Audience'. In *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, ed. Virginia Blanton and Helene Scheck. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007, 141–59.
- Neville, Jennifer. *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry*. Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 27. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Newton, Arthur Percival. *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1926.
- Nirenberg, David. 'Muslim-Jewish Relations in the Fourteenth-Century Crown of Aragon'. *Via-tor* 24 (1993), 249–68.
- . *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- . 'Religious and Sexual Boundaries in the Medieval Crown of Aragon'. In *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain Interaction and Cultural Change*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000, 141–60.
- . 'Muslims in Christian Iberia, 1000–1526: Varieties of Mudejar Experience'. In *The Medieval World*, ed. Peter Lineham and Janet L. Nelson. London: Routledge, 2001, 60–76.
- . *Neighboring Faiths: Christianity, Islam, and Judaism in the Middle Ages and Today*. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Ó Carragáin, Éamonn. 'Who Then Read the Ruthwell Poem in the Eighth Century?'. In *Aedificia Nova: Studies in Honor of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov and Helen Damico. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2008, 43–75.
- Odom, Herbert H. 'Generalizations of Race in Nineteenth-Century Physical Anthropology'. *Isis*, 57 (1967), 4–18.
- Ojala, Carl-Gösta. *Sámi Prehistories: The Politics of Archaeology and Identity in Northernmost Europe*. Occasional Papers in Archaeology 47. Uppsala, 2009.
- O'Malley, Michelle. *The Business of Art: Contracts and the Commissioning Process in Renaissance Italy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

- Oram, Richard D. *Domination and Lordship: Scotland 1070–1230*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2011.
- Orchard, Andy. *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1995.
- Osteen, Mark. ‘Gift or Commodity?’. In *The Question of the Gift: Essays across Disciplines*, ed. Mark Osteen. London: Routledge, 2002, 229–47.
- Overbey, Karen. ‘Postcolonial’. In *Medieval Art History Today: Critical Terms*, ed. Nina Rowe, special issue. *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), 145–56.
- . *Sacral Geographies: Saints, Shrines and Territory in Medieval Ireland*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.
- Owen, Douglas David Roy. *William the Lion 1143–1214*. n.p.: Tuckwell Press, 1997.
- The Palestinian Information Centre. ‘About Hamas’. *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement* (no date, Wayback Machine capture 25 January, 2001).
- Paliaga, Franco and Stefano Renzoni. *Le chiese di Pisa: Guida alla conoscenza del patrimonio artistico*. Pisa: ETS, 1991.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*. New York: Harper Torchbook, 1969.
- Papalexandrou, Amy. ‘Text in Context: Eloquent Monuments and The Byzantine Beholder’. *Word & Image* 17.3 (2001), 259–83.
- Paris, Paulin, ed. *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, vol. 1. Paris: J. Techener, 1836.
- Parkes, Malcolm. *The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College, Oxford*. London: Scolar Press, 1979.
- Patterson, Jeanette. ‘Silent Job: Interpretive Frames and the Lay Readership in Guyart des Moulins’ *Bible historique*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 2011.
- Patton, Pamela. *Art of Estrangement: Redefining Jews in Reconquest Spain*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013.
- Pavón Maldonado, B. ‘Escudos y reyes en el Cuarto de los Leones de la Alhambra’. *Al-Andalus* 35 (1970), 179–97.
- Pavoni, Romeo. ‘Il mercante’. In *Condizione umana e ruoli sociali nel mezzogiorno normanno-svevo: Atti delle none giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, 17–20 Ottobre 1989*, ed. Giosuè Musca. Bari: Edizioni Dedalo, 1991, 215–50.
- Paz, James. ‘Talking with “Things” in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture’. Unpublished PhD thesis, King’s College London, 2013.
- Peers, Glenn. *Sacred Shock: Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.
- , ed. *Byzantine Things in the World*. Houston: The Menil Collection, 2013.
- Peignot, Gabriel. *Catalogue d’une partie des livres composant l’ancienne bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne de la dernière race, d’après des inventaires de leurs meubles au XVe siècle*. Paris: J. Renouard, 1830.
- Penman, Michael. ‘The Bruce Dynasty, Becket and Scottish Pilgrimage to Canterbury, c. 1178–c. 1404’. *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 348–50.
- Pentcheva, Bissera. *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2006.
- . ‘The Performative Icon’, *Art Bulletin* 88.4 (2006), 631–55.
- . ‘Moving Eyes: Surface and Shadow in the Byzantine Mixed-Media Relief Icon’. *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 55/56 (2009), 222–34.
- . *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- . ‘Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics’, *Gesta* 50.2 (2011), 93–111.
- Peroni, Adriano, ed. *Il Duomo di Pisa*. 3 vols. Modena: F.C. Panini, 1995.
- Perry, David. ‘A New Look at Old Arbroath’. *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal* 4 (1998), 260–78.
- Perry, Mary Elizabeth. ‘Memory and Mutilation: The Case of the Moriscos’. In *In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, the West, and the Relevance of the Past*, ed. Simon Doubleday and David Coleman. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 67–90.

- Petersson, Caroline. 'In Things We Trust'. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 19 (2011), 167–181.
- Picard, Christophe. *La Mer des Califes: Une histoire de la Méditerranée musulmane (VIIe–XIIe siècle)*. Paris: Seuil, 2015.
- Pincus, Debra. 'The Stones of Venice in the Baptistry of San Marco: Eastern Marbles in Western Mosaics'. In *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer*, ed. Cecil L. Striker. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1996, 137–41.
- Pollock, Sheldon. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 2009.
- Powell, Amy Knight. *Depositions: Scenes from the Late Medieval Church and the Modern Museum*. Cambridge, MA: Zone Books, 2011.
- Power, Daniel. 'What did the Frontier of Angevin Normandy Comprise?' *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1994, Anglo-Norman Studies* 17 (1995), 181–201.
- . 'King John and the Norman Aristocracy'. In *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. Stephen David Church. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999, 117–36.
- . 'The End of Angevin Normandy: The Revolt of Alençon 1203', *Historical Research*, 74 (2001), 444–64.
- . '“Terra Regis Anglie et Terra Normannorum sibi Invicem Adversantur”: Les Héritages Anglo-Normands entre 1204 et 1244'. In *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Âge*, ed. Pierre Bouet and Véronique Gazeau. Caen: CRAHM, 2003, 189–209.
- . *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- . 'The Norman Church and the Angevin and Capetian Kings'. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 56 (2005), 205–34.
- Prado-Vilar, Francisco. 'The Gothic Anamorphic Gaze: Regarding the Worth of Others'. In *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi. Leiden: Brill, 2005, 67–100.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London; New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Pryor, John and Sergio Bellabarba. 'The Medieval Muslim Ships of the Pisan *Bacini*'. *The Mariner's Mirror* 76.2 (1990), 99–113.
- Przybilski, Martin. *Kulturtransfer zwischen Juden und Christen in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011.
- Quayson, Ato. 'Translations and Transnationals: Pre- and Postcolonial'. In *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 254–62.
- Radicati, Luigi. *Fibonacci tra arte e scienza*. Cinisello Balsamo (Milano): Silvana editoriale, 2002.
- Rambelli, Fabio, and Eric Reinders. 'What does Iconoclasm Create? What does Preservation Destroy? Reflections on Iconoclasm in East Asia'. In *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*, ed. Stacy Boldrick and Richard Clay. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007, 15–33.
- Ramos Torres, María Cruz. 'Preparativos en la Alhambra ante la venida de Felipe V (Álbum de la Alhambra)'. *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 8 (1972), 91–98.
- Rausing, Gad. 'Barbarian Mercenaries or Roman Citizens?'. *Fornvännen* 82 (1987), 126–32.
- Reames, Sherry. 'Liturgical Offices for the Cult of St. Thomas Becket'. In *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head. New York: Garland, 2000, 561–93.
- . 'Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket'. *Speculum*, 80 (2005), 118–70.
- Redi, Fabio. *Pisa com'era: Archeologia, urbanistica e strutture materiali: Secoli V–XIV*. Pisa: GISEM, 1991.
- Redi, Fabio. 'Le strutture edilizie della basilica di San Piero a Grado dalle origini al secolo XV'. In *Nel segno di Pietro: La basilica di San Piero a Grado da luogo della prima evangelizzazione a meta di pellegrinaggio medievale*, ed. Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut and Stefano Sodi. Pisa: Felice Editore, 2003, 99–116.

- Reiner, Rami. 'L'attitude envers les prosélytes en Allemagne et en France du XIe au XIIIe siècle'. *Revue des Etudes Juives* 167 (2008), 99–119.
- Renzi Rizzo, Catia. 'I Rapporti Pisa-Spagna (Al-Andalus, Maiorca) tra l'VIII e il XIII secolo testimoniate dalle fonti scritti'. In *Atti: XXX e XXXI Convegno internazionale della ceramica*. Albisola: Centro ligure per la storia della ceramica, 1999, 255–64.
- Revell, Louise. *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Reyerson, Kathryn. 'Reflections on the Infrastructure of Medieval Trade'. In *Trading Cultures: The Worlds of Western Merchants: Essays on Authority, Objectivity, and Evidence*, ed. Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001, 7–34.
- . *The Art of the Deal: Intermediaries of Trade in Medieval Montpellier*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Reynaud, Nicole. *Jean Fouquet*. Paris: Louvre, 1981.
- . *Jean Fouquet, Les Heures d'Etienne Chevalier*. Dijon: Editions Faton, 2006.
- Riegl, Alois. *The Group Portraiture of Holland*, trans. Evelyn Kain. Los Angeles: Texts & Documents, 1999.
- Robertson, James Craigie and J.B. Sheppard, eds. *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, Rolls Series, 7 vols. London: Longman, 1875–85.
- Rodini, Elizabeth Virginia. 'Translatio Sancti Marci: Displaying the Levant in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Venice'. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1995.
- Röhl, Suzanne. *Der livre de Mandeville im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung der kontinentalfranzösischen Version*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2004.
- Rosaldo, Renato. *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.
- Rosenau, Helen. 'Notes on the Illuminations of the Spanish Haggadah in the John Rylands Library'. *Bulletin of The John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 36 (1953–54), 468–83.
- Rosenthal, Earl E. 'Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971), 204–28.
- . 'The Invention of the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), 198–230.
- . *The Palace of Charles V in Granada*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Rosselló Bordoy, Guillermo. 'La decoración de los ataifores hallados en Pisa'. In *Naves andalusíes en cerámicas mallorquinas*, ed. Graziella Berti, Javier Pastor Quijada, and Guillermo Rosselló Bordoy. Palma de Mallorca: Conselleria de cultura, 1993, 43–67.
- Rossetti, Gabriella. 'Histoire familiale et structures sociales et politiques à Pise aux XIe et XIIe siècles'. In *Famille et parenté dans l'occident médiéval: Actes du colloque de Paris (6–8 juin 1974)*, ed. Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff. Rome: L'école française de Rome, 1977, 159–80.
- . 'Ceti dirigenti e classe politica'. In *Pisa nei secoli XI e XII: Formazione e caratteri di una classe di governo*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti. Pisa: Pacini, 1979, xxv–xli.
- Rowe, Nina. 'Other'. In *Medieval Art History Today: Critical Terms*, ed. Nina Rowe, special issue. *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), 130–44.
- Rowlands, Michael. 'Value and the Cultural Transmission of Things'. In *Commodification: Things, Agency, and Identities: (the Social Life of Things Revisited)*, ed. Wim van Binsbergen and Peter Geschiere. Münster: Lit, 2005, 267–81.
- Rubin, Miri. *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- . *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Rudolf, Winfried. 'The Spiritual Islescape of the Anglo-Saxons'. In *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sebastian I. Sobecki. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011, 31–57.
- Ruggles, D. Fairchild. 'Representation and Identity in Medieval Spain: Beatus Manuscripts and the Mudejar Churches of Teruel'. In *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*, ed. Ross Brann. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1997, 77–106.

The Rylands Haggadah: A Medieval Sephardic Masterpiece in Facsimile. An Illuminated Passover Compendium from Mid-14th-Century Catalonia in the Collections of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester with a Commentary and a Cycle of Poems, ed. and trans. Raphael Loewe. London: Thames and Hudson, 1988.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

———. 'Zionism from the Standpoint of Its Victims'. *Social Text* 1 (1979), 7–58.

Salfeld, Siegmund. *Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuches*. Berlin: L. Simion, 1898.

Salin, Bernhard. *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*. Stockholm: H. Seger, 1904.

Sanpaulesi, Piero. *Il duomo di Pisa d'architettura romanica toscana delle origini*. Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1975.

Sapori, Armando. 'La cultura del mercante medievale italiano'. In *Gli orizzonti aperti: Profili del mercante medievale*, ed. Gabriella Airal di. Turin: Paravia scriptorium, 1997, 139–73.

Salvatori, Enrica. 'Pisa in the Middle Ages: The Dream and the Reality of an Empire'. In *Empires and States in European Perspectives*, ed. Ann Katherine Isaacs. Pisa: Edizioni plus, università di Pisa, 2002, 13–32.

Sauer, Christine. *Fundatio und Memoria: Stifter und Klostergründer im Bild 1100 bis 1350*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993.

———. *Studium – Lektüre – Andacht; Zur Handschriftenproduktion im 13. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Württembergische Landesbibliothek, 1996.

Scalia, Giuseppe. "'Romanitas' pisana tra XI e XII secolo: Le iscrizioni romane del duomo e la statua del console Rodolfo'. *Studi medievali* 13, series 3 (1972), 791–843.

———. 'Contributi pisani alla lotta anti-islamica nel mediterraneo centro-occidentale durante il secolo XI e nei primi decenni del XII'. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980), 135–44.

Schaefer, Claude. *Jean Fouquet: An der Schwelle zur Renaissance*. Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1994.

Schama, Simon. 'Perishable Commodities: Dutch Still-life Paintings and the "Empire of Things"'. In *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter. London: Routledge, 1994, 478–88.

Scheil, Andrew. *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Schubert, Kurt. 'Die Ikonographie der ambrosianischen Bibel'. *Kairos. Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie*, n.s. 27 (1985) 207–14.

Schwenger, Peter. *The Tears of Things: Melancholy and Physical Objects*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.

Scott, Sarah. 'Provincial Art and Roman Imperialism: An Overview'. In *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, ed. Sarah Scott and Jane Webster. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 1–7.

———, and Jane Webster, eds. *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Sen, Amartya. *The Idea of Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 200.

Seymour, Michael C. *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels*, Early English Texts Society o.s. 319. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Shalem, Avinoam. *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996.

Shippey, T. A. *Old English Verse*. London: Hutchinson, 1972.

Shneidman, J. Lee. *The Rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire 1200–1350*. London: University of London Press, 1970.

Slocum, Kay Brainard. *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

———. 'Optimus Egrorum Medicus Fit Thomas Bonorum: Images of Saint Thomas as Healer'. *Sewanee Mediaeval Studies* 10 (2000), 173–80.

- Sobecki, Sebastian I., ed. *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011.
- Sodi, Stefano. *La Basilica Di San Piero a Grado*. Pisa, 1989.
- . ‘“Ad Pisanum litus appulsus”: l’evangelizzazione di Pisa e il mare’. In *Pisa e il Mediterraneo: Uomini, merci, idee dagli etruschi ai Medici*, ed. Marco Tangheroni. Milan: Skira, 2003, 127–31.
- . ‘San Piero a Grado e la *via maritima* dell’evangelizzazione della Tuscia costiera’. In *Nel segno di Pietro: La basilica di San Piero a Grado da luogo della prima evangelizzazione a meta di pellegrinaggio medievale*, ed. Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut and Stefano Sodi. Pisa: Felice Editore, 2003, 11–18.
- . ‘Le vicende storiche’. In *La Basilica Di San Piero a Grado*, ed. Stefano Sodi and Maria-giulia Buresi. Pisa: ETS, 2010, 5–33.
- Soifer, Maya. ‘Beyond Convivencia: Critical Reflections of the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain’. *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 1.1 (2009), 19–35.
- Spencer, Brian. *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue Part 2. Salisbury: Salisbury Museum, 1990, 16–24.
- . *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 7. London: Boydell Press, 1998, 37–133;
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. ‘The Rani of Sirmur: an Essay in Reading the Archives’. *History and Theory*, 24.3 (1985), 247–72.
- . ‘Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography’. *Subaltern Studies IV: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. Ranajit Guha. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, 330–63.
- Spufford, Peter. *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2003.
- Staunton, Michael. *The Lives of Thomas Becket*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.
- Steiner, Christopher. ‘Rights of Passage: On the Liminal Identity of Art in the Border Zone’. In *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*, ed. Fred R. Myers. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2001, 207–31.
- Stenton, Sir Frank M. *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971; repr. 1975.
- Stern, Greg. *Philosophy and Rabbinic Culture: Jewish Interpretation and Controversy in Medieval Languedoc*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Strickland, Debra Higgs. *Saracens, Demons and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Stuard, Susan Mosher. *Gilding the Market: Luxury and Fashion in Fourteenth-Century Italy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
- Suckale, Robert. ‘Über den Anteil christlicher Maler an der Ausmalung hebräischer Handschriften der Gotik in Bayern’. In *Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Bayern*, ed. Manfred Tremel and Wolf Weigand, with Evamaria Brockhoff. Munich: K.G. Saur, 1988, 123–34.
- Suckale-Redlefsen, Gude. ‘Buchkunst zur Zeit der Andechs-Meranier in Bamberg’. In *Die Andechs-Meranier in Franken, Europäisches Fürstentum im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Kai Schurr, Uwe Tapkin, and Ursula Vorwerk. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998, 239–61.
- Svanberg, Fredrik. *Decolonizing the Viking Age 1*. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in Octavo 43. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003.
- Szabo, Vicki Ellen. *Monstrous Fishes and the Mead-Dark Sea: Whaling in the Medieval North Atlantic*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Szulwas, Mosze Awigdor. *Die Juden in Würzburg während des Mittelalters*. Berlin: Paul Brandel, 1934.
- Tafari, Manfredo. *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

- Tangheroni, Marco. 'Le marchand italien: état de la question'. In *Actes du 19e congrès des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*. Saint-Herblain: SHMES, 1992, 11–24.
- . 'Fibonacci, Pisa e il Mediterraneo'. In *Leonardo Fibonacci: Il tempo, le opere, l'eredità scientifica*, ed. Marcello Morelli and Marco Tangheroni. Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1994, 15–34.
- . *Commercio e navigazione nel medioevo*. Roma: Laterza, 1996.
- . 'Fonti e problemi della storia del commercio mediterraneo nei secoli XI–XIV'. In *Ceramiche, città e commerci nell'Italia tardo-medievale*, ed. Sauro Gelichi. Mantua: S.A.P., 1998, 11–22.
- . 'Pisa e le repubbliche marinare'. In *Pisa e il Mediterraneo: Uomini, merci, idee dagli etruschi ai Medici*, ed. Marco Tangheroni. Milan: Skira 2003, 139–43.
- . 'La prima espansione di Pisa nel Mediterraneo'. In *Il mare, la terra, il ferro: Ricerche su Pisa medievale (secoli VII–XIII)*, ed. Graziella Berti, Catia Renzi Rizzo, and Marco Tangheroni. Pisa: Pacini, 2004, 207–30.
- Terrén, Eduardo. 'Rethinking the Ties that Bind: Religion and the Rhetoric of Othering'. *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 8.3 (2004), 13–22.
- Teulet, Jean Baptiste Alexandre Théodore, Léon Laborde, Josephe de Laborde Archives nationales, eds. *Layettes du trésor des chartes*. Paris: Henri Plon, 1863–1909.
- Thedéen, Susanne. 'Who's That Girl? The Cultural Construction of Girlhood and the Transition to Womanhood in Viking Age Gotland'. *Childhood in the Past* 1 (2009), 78–93.
- Thomas, Nicholas. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Thomsen, Christian Jürgensen. 'Om guldbracteaterne'. *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1855, 265–347.
- Tiffany, Daniel. 'Lyric Substance: On Riddles, Materialism, and Poetic Obscurity'. *Critical Inquiry* 28.1 (2001), 72–98.
- Tilley, Christopher. 'Archaeology as Socio-Political Action in the Present'. In *Reader in Archaeological Theory: Post-Processual and Cognitive Approaches*, ed. David S. Whitley. London: Routledge, 1998, 305–31; originally published in *Critical Traditions in Contemporary Archaeology: Essays in the Philosophy, History and Socio-politics of Archaeology*, ed. V. Pinsky and A. Wylie. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995, 104–15.
- Tito Rojo, José and Manuel Casares Porcel. 'From the Andalusí Garden to the Andalusian Garden: Remnants and Re-Creation'. *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Diversity, Questions, Methods and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, ed. Michel Conan. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007, 287–305.
- Tolan, John V. *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Toller, T. Northcote. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Supplement*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.
- Tomasch, Sylvia. 'Introduction: Medieval Geographical Desire'. In *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sealy Anne Gilles and Sylvia Tomasch. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998, 1–12.
- Torres Balbás, L. 'Diario De Obras En La Alhambra: 1927–1929'. *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 4 (1968), 108–10.
- Toynbee, Jocelyn M. C. *Roman Medallions*. Numismatic Studies 5. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1944.
- Ulivì, Elisabetta. 'Scuole e maestri d'abaco in Italia tra Medioevo e Rinascimento'. In *Un ponte sul Mediterraneo: Leonardo Pisano, la scienza araba e la rinascita della matematica in Occidente*, ed. Enrico Giusti. Firenze: Polistampa, 2002, 121–59.
- UNESCO. 'Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage'. *The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization meeting in Paris from 17 October to 21 November 1972*. Paris: UNESCO, 1972, 1–16.

- Urseau, Charles. *L'Obituaire de la cathédrale d'Angers, reconstitué et publié par le chanoine Ch. Urseau*. Angers: Société anonyme des éditions de l'Ouest, 1930.
- van Binsbergen, Wim. 'Commodification: Things, Agency, and Identities: Introduction'. In *Commodification: Things, Agency, and Identities: (the Social Life of Things Revisited)*, ed. Wim van Binsbergen and Peter Geschiere. Münster: Lit, 2005, 9–51.
- van den Baar, P.A. *Die Kirchliche Lehre der Translatio Imperii Romani bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*. Rome: Universitatis Gregoriana, 1956.
- van Dommelen, Peter. 'Colonial Constructs: Colonialism and Archaeology in the Mediterranean', *World Archaeology* 28 (1996), 305–323.
- van Doosselaere, Quentin. *Commercial Agreements and Social Dynamics in Medieval Genoa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Verdun, Jean. *Travel in the Middle Ages*, trans. George Holoch. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003.
- Verkerk, Dorothy. *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Vílchez Vílchez, Carlos. *La Alhambra de Leopoldo Torres Balbás (Obras de Restauración y Conservación. 1923–1936)*. Granada: Comares, 1988.
- Vincent, Nicholas. 'The Murderers of Thomas Becket'. In *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter/ Murder of Bishops*, eds Natalie Fryde and Dirk Reitz. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003, 223–8.
- Violante, Cinzio. 'Les origines des fondations victorines dans la cité et au diocèse de Pise'. *Provence historique: revue trimestrielle* 16 (1966), 361–76.
- . *Economia, società, istituzioni a Pisa nel medioevo: Saggi e ricerche*. Bari: Dedalo libri, 1980.
- Voragine, Jacobus de. *Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Wacholder, Ben Zion. 'Cases of Proselytizing in the Tosafist Responsa'. *The Jewish Quarterly Review* ns 51.4 (1961), 288–315.
- Wasserstrom, Steven M. 'Jewish Muslim Relations in the Context of Andalusian Emigration'. In *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain Interaction and Cultural Change*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000, 69–87.
- Watson, Oliver. *Ceramics from Islamic Lands*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2004.
- Waxenberger, Gaby. 'The Cryptic Runes on the Auzon Franks Casket'. In *More than Words, English Lexicography and Lexicology Past and Present. Essays Presented to Hans Sauer on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Part 1, ed. Renate Bauer and Ulrike Krischke. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011, 161–70.
- Webster, Jane. 'Necessary Comparisons: A Post-Colonial Approach to Religious Syncretism in the Roman Provinces'. *World Archaeology* 28 (1997), 324–38.
- . 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2001), 209–25.
- . 'Art as Resistance and Negotiation'. In *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, ed. Sarah Scott and Jane Webster. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 24–51.
- Webster, Leslie. 'Stylistic Aspects of the Franks Casket'. In *The Vikings*, ed. Robert T. Farrell. Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1982, 20–32.
- . 'The Iconographic Programme of the Franks Casket'. In *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999, 227–46.
- . *The Franks Casket*. London: British Museum Press, 2010.
- Weitzmann, Kurt ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979.
- Wendehorst, Alfred. *Das Bistum Würzburg. Teil 1, Die Bischofsreihe bis 1254*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1962, 211–26.
- Wharton, Annabel J. *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

- Wicker, Nancy L. 'Archaeology and Art History: Common Ground for the New Millennium'. *Medieval Archaeology* 43 (1999), 161–71.
- . 'The Scandinavian Animal Styles in Response to Mediterranean and Christian Narrative Art'. In *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, A.D. 300–1300*, ed. Martin Carver. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003, 531–50.
- . 'Display of Scandinavian Migration Period Bracteates and Other Pendant Jewelry as a Reflection of Prestige and Identity'. In *De Re Metallica: The Uses of Metal in the Middle Ages*, eds. Robert Bork. AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art 4. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005, 49–61.
- . 'Situating Scandinavian Migration Period Bracteates: From Typology and Iconography to Gender, Agency, and Visual Culture'. In *Situating Gender in European Archaeologies*, eds. Liv Helga Dommasnes, Tove Hjørungdal, Sandra Montón-Subías, Margarita Sánchez Romero and Nancy L. Wicker, Archaeolingua Series Minor 29. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2010, 67–81.
- . 'Would There Have Been Gothic Art Without the Vikings? The Contribution of Scandinavian Medieval Art'. *Medieval Encounters* 17 (2011), 198–229.
- . 'Inspiring the Barbarians? The Transformation from Roman Medallions to Scandinavian Bracteates'. In *Rome Beyond Its Frontiers: Imports, Attitudes and Practices*, ed. Peter S. Wells. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 94. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2013, 105–120.
- , and Henrik Williams. 'Bracteates and Runes'. *Futhark: International Journal of Runic Studies* 3, 2012 (2013), 151–213.
- Williams, Maggie M., and Karen Eileen Overbey, eds. *Transparent Things: A Cabinet*. New York: Punctum Books, 2013.
- Winegar, Jessica. *Creative Reckonings: The Politics of Art and Culture in Contemporary Egypt*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Winer, Rebecca Lynn. *Women, Wealth and Community in Perpignan, C. 1250–1300: Christians, Jews and Enslaved Muslims in a Medieval Mediterranean Town*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, and Ruth Evans, ed. *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.
- Wolf, Jürgen. 'Psalter und Gebetbuch am Hof: Bindeglieder zwischen klerikal-literaler und laikal-mündlicher Welt'. In *Orality and Literacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mark Chinca and Christopher Young. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, 139–179.
- Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, Harald. *Der Elisabethpsalter in Cividale del Friuli: Buchmalerei für den Thüringer Landgrafenhof zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2001.
- Wood, Christopher. *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Wood, Denis. *Rethinking the Power of Maps*. New York: Guilford Press, 2010.
- Woolf, Greg. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Wood, Ian N. 'Ripon, Francia and the Franks Casket in the Early Middle Ages'. *Northern History* 26 (1990), 1–19.
- Yorke, Barbara. 'Politics and Ethnic Identity: A Case Study of Anglo-Saxon Practice'. In *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrell. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2000, 69–90.
- Young, Robert J. C. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, 2nd edn. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Yuval, Israel Jacob. *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Index

9/11 151

Abba Mari ben Moses 230

Abraham 247, 251

Abu Dhabi 146

Accalam na Senórach 2

acheiropoieta 149

Acre 207

actor-network theory 151

Adam and Eve 246, 251

Adoration of the Magi 43, 44, 50, 52, 53

ben Adreth, Solomon b. Abraham, rabbi 230

Advent 78

Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham (*Colloquy*) 55–6

Africa 102, 128, 130, 134, 135, 207, 208,

212, 221, 225, 230

Age of Spirituality, exhibition 147–8

Ahluwalia, Pal 103

Al-Andalus 125, 126, 202, 208, 214 n.33

Al Aqsa mosque 106

Alban, saint 51

Albania 99

Albizo family, Pisa 207, 211

Alcuin 68

Alexander I, king of Scotland 176

Alexander II, king of Scotland 180, 181, 185

Alexander III, pope 175

Alexander the Great 107

Alexander, Jeffrey 151

Alexandria 207

Alfred, king 47

Alfred Jewel 53

Alhambra 7–8, 9, 120–40

Amalfi 197, 204, 207

ambivalence 9, 10–11, 12, 185–8, 221–5,
235, 242–3

Ameisenowa, Zofia 251

Americas 130, 134

amulets 27

Anatolia 159

Andalusia 120–40

Andreas 60 n.68

Andrén, Anders 26

Angers Cathedral 9, 169–88

Angevins 169–88

Angles 41, 42, 48, 52

Anglo-Saxon art 4, 29, 37–61

Angot, Abbé 179

Anjou 175, 179, 180, 181, 187

anthropology 149

animal art 20, 30

anti-Semitism 92

Appadurai, Arjun 198

Apocalypse (see also Last Judgement) 250

Arab-Israeli war 103

Arab Spring 151, 160

Aragon 10, 120–40, 218–35

Arbroath Abbey 177, 178, 185, 186, 191
n.32

archaeology 5, 17, 27, 30, 145, 146, 150,
151–2, 153, 157, 165 n.53

Aristotle 151; (*Ethics*) 64

Armorica 42

Arrhenius, Birgit 26

Ashcroft, Bill 103

Ashkenaz (Germany) 2, 11, 241–56

Augustine of Canterbury, saint 42, 45, 53

Augustine of Hippo, saint 93

Aventine Hill, Rome 52

BABEL Working Group 146

Babylon 99

bacini 10

Balbale, Abigail Krasner 129

Balder 22, 23, 28

Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury 177

baptism 128, 232

Barber, Charles 155, 156

- Barcelona 219, 222, 227, 229, 230
 Barrois, Jean-Baptiste 57 n.1
 Barthes, Roland 94, 95
Battle of Brunanburh, The 42
 Baumgarten, Elisheva 255
 Baxandall, Michael 154, 208
 Beaduhild 43, 46, 59 n.30
 Beaumont, Constance de 176, 186
 Beaumont, Ermengarde de, queen of Scotland 176, 177, 180, 181, 185
 Beaumont, Guillaume de, bishop of Angers 9, 169–88
 Beaumont, Richard de, viscount of Maine 176, 180
 Beaumont, Raoul de 180, 189 n.16
 Beaumont, Raoul VII de 186
 Becket, Thomas 9, 169–88; (ampullae) 178, 179, 182, 191 n.39; (tomb of) 175, 177; (translation of) 185
 Bede 41, 42, 45, 48; *Historia ecclesiastica* 51, 52, 82 n.6
 Bedouin 103
 Behr, Charlotte 26
 Benedictines 210, 211
 Benjamin, Walter 65, 78
 Beowulf 46
 Bethlehem 43, 50, 51, 52, 55
 Bhabha, Homi 6, 40, 62, 65, 66, 153, 184, 221, 223, 224, 234, 242–3, 253, 254, 256
 Bible (Exodus) 103, 220, 221, 226; (Leviticus) 251; (Deuteronomy) 226, 251; (Ruth) 250; (Psalms) 50–1, 106; (Ezekiel) 109, 250; (Chronicles) 250; (Mathew) 62, 251; (Luke) 62, 70; (Ephesians) 75, 77; (Revelation) 95; (Hebrew) 11, 243–56
 biblical commentary 11, 243–56
 Bickerton, Ashley 155, 156
 Black Death 251
 Blanche of Navarre, queen of France 65, 66, 69
 blood libel 219
 Boethius (*De consolazione philosophiae*) 47
Book of Sir John Mandeville 7, 91–112
 Bouguer Principle 154
 Boulanger, Karine 178, 181, 186
 Bourg-le-Roi, Richard of 176
 bracteates (see also medallions) 5, 17–36
 Borges, Jorge Luis 144, 160
 Brahmans 102
 Braude, Benjamin 92
 Bredehoft, Tom 47, 48
 Britain/Britons 6, 23, 29, 41, 42, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55
 Brothers, Cammy 132
 Bruhn, Jutta-Annette 25
 Buck-Morss, Susan 150, 151, 153, 154
 burial (see also grave-goods) 18, 25, 26
 burial mounds 47, 52
 Burns, Robert I 10
 Bursche, Aleksander 25
 Bynum, Caroline Walker 92, 111, 251
 Byrd, Jodi 103
 Byzantine art 1, 8, 144–60
 Byzantium 3, 20, 156, 159
Byzantium and Islam, exhibition 148
Byzantium Faith and Power, exhibition 147–8, 154–5
Byzantine Things in the World, exhibition 157, 160
 Camille, Michael 68, 147, 149, 219, 223
 Campbell, Mary B. 92, 94
 Canaan 103
 Canon of the Mass 66, 80
 Canterbury 175, 176, 178; (Cathedral) 175, 177, 178, 181, 185
 Canton 99
 Capetians 9, 174–88
 Cappadocia, rock-cut churches 159–60
 Caskey, Jill 2
 Caspian Mountains 99, 106, 107, 108
 Castile 120–40, 229, 233
 Çatalhöyük, Turkey 150, 165 n.49
 Catalonia 225, 229, 230, 234
 Cathay 99
 Catherine, saint 254
 Caucasus Mountains 107
 Ceramics 230; (*bacini*) 10, 196–212; (lusterware) 212
 Ceylon 99
 Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 145
 Charles V, emperor 8, 121, 130, 131; (Palace of) 132, 135
 Charles V, king of France 64
 Chartres Cathedral 174, 175, 178, 190 n.20, 193 n.61
 Chilperic, king of the Franks 18, 25
 Christ 43, 44, 49, 51, 52, 53, 65, 70, 73, 74, 82, 102, 109, 254; (Casts out a demon) 67; (Crucifixion) 227; (Entry into Jerusalem) 63, 68; (Last Judgement) 251, 252; (Last Supper) 66, 73, 78, 79; (Resurrection) 227; (Separating sheep and goats) 251, 252; (Wedding feast at Cana) 80, 81
 Christians/Christianity 10, 11, 17, 23, 28, 29, 40, 42, 44, 50, 51, 52, 53, 92, 101,

- 109, 12, 126, 233, 241–56
 Cisneros, Francisco, Jiménez de, archbishop of Toledo 128, 129
 Clarendon, Constitutions of 181
 Clark Institute of Art 145
 classicism 126, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 139
 Clotaire, king of the Franks 181
 cognitive style 210
 coinhabitation/dis-coinhabitation 10, 11, 221, 222, 229, 232, 233, 234, 235, 241
 coins 17, 18, 20, 24, 25, 49
 Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome 2, 17, 27–30, 91, 92, 94, 104, 107, 139, 180, 184, 220–1, 222, 229, 233, 234, 241, 242, 253
 colonialism 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30–1, 49, 50, 51, 52, 65, 91–112, 134, 150, 152, 208, 224, 242–3
 Common of the Apostles 75
 Conceptual art 155
 connoisseurship 149, 156
 Conrad, Joseph 102, 109, 111
 Constans, emperor 18
 Constantine, emperor 18, 49, 52
 Constantinople 99, 159, 160, 207
 Constantius II, emperor 18
 Constructivism 155
convivencia 126, 139, 235
 Copeland, Rita 64
 Cordoba 127
 Corpus Christi, feast of 66
 Corte, Nicolás de, sculptor 135
 cosmopolitanism 145, 146
 Coutances Cathedral 178, 190 n.20
 Crusader Kingdom 106
 crusades 3, 103, 109, 134, 210, 232
 Cubism 155
 Cuno, James 146, 155
 curation 8–9, 144–60
 Cyprus 99, 109, 149
- Damback, Francia 25
 Dante (*De vulgari eloquentia*) 64
 Daston, Loraine 53
 David, biblical king 250
 David I, king of Scotland 176, 177, 178, 181
 David, earl of Huntingdon 176
 deconstruction 157, 174
 Delaissé, L.M.J. 69
 Denmark 18, 27, 28
Deor 46, 47
 Derrida, Jacques 62, 66, 78, 80, 104, 158, 242
 des Roches, bishop of Winchester 186
- Descartes, René 171
 diaspora (see also exile, migration) 16, 26, 156
 Dietler, Michael 197
 digitisation 146
 Diocletian, emperor 51
 disciplinarity 1, 6, 7, 11, 28–9, 144–60
 Disraeli, Benjamin 101–2
 Dodds, Jerrilynn D. 129
 Dome of the Rock 106, 109
 Dominicans 65, 66, 68, 69, 222, 253
 Donizo of Canossa, monk 209
 Doria family, Genoa 207
 DNA analysis 26
 Drucker, Barbara 149
 Dubai 146
 Duchy of Cornwall Map 104
- Easter 66, 68, 69, 70, 227
 Ebsdorf Map 104
 Eddas (see also *Völundarkviða*) 22, 45
 Edgar, king of Scotland 176
 Edinburgh Castle 177
 education 205, 207, 208, 243
 Eggipus, king 70
 Egypt 99, 202, 205, 207, 211, 226; (flight out of) 227, 228
 Eiffel Tower 171
 Ekengren, Frederik 18
 Eleazar, Rabbi 225
 Elkins, James 110, 111, 146
 Elliot, J.H. 13
 Eloi, saint 181
 England (see also Britain) 20, 91, 99, 109, 122; (Anglo-Norman) 3, 9, 91, 169–88; (Anglo-Saxon) 4, 6, 26, 37–61
 English, Edward 127
 English Channel 178, 180, 183, 185, 186, 187
 Enlightenment 147
 Epstein, Marc Michael 222, 223, 228, 229
 ethics 144–60
 ethnography 144, 150
 Eucharist 65, 73, 78, 95, 165, 279
 Evans, Helen 147, 148
 Exeter Book of Old English poetry 46, 54–5, 56
 exile (see also diaspora, migration) 10, 40, 41, 50, 52, 175–88, 219
 exodus myth 41, 42
extimité 220, 229, 233
 Ezekiel, prophet 250

- Falaise, Treaty of 177, 191 n.32
 Fantosme, Jordan 176
 Fayum 25
 Feliciano, Maria Judith 129
 Ferdinand II, king of Aragon 120
 Fibonacci, Leonardo 207
 fitz Urse, Reginald 181
 Flanders 124, 131
 Flaubert, Gustav 94
 Flavian dynasty 50
 Flood, Finbarr 122, 123, 139
 formalism 149, 156
 Forville, Raymonde 174
 Foucault, Michel 144, 152, 158, 160
 Fouquet, Jean 62, 68, 85 n.46, 86 n.56, 87 n.77, 87 n.85
 France 9, 29, 62–82, 169–88
 Frankfurt School 152, 166 n.58
 Franks 18, 25, 41
 Franks, Augustus 57 n.1
 Franks Casket 6, 37–61
 Frederick II Hohenstaufen 253
 Freedberg, David 153
 Freud, Sigmund 242
 frontier studies 9, 174, 180–88

 Gabriel, archangel 70
 Gabrieli, Francesco 209
 Gadamer, Hans-Georg 155
 Gaudio, Michael 103
 Geary, Patrick 149–50
 Geats 41
 Genoa 204, 207, 223, 224
gens Anglorum 52
 Gerald of Wales 2, 184, 253; (*Topographia Hibernica*) 2
 Germania 6, 25, 40–61
 Germany (see also Ashkenaz) 25, 28
 Gerstel, Sharon 148–9
 Getty Museum (see J. Paul Getty Museum)
 gift exchange 199
 Gildas 41, 50, 51; *De excidio britannie* 41, 50
 globalism 151
Glory of Byzantium, exhibition 147–8
 glosses 56, 65
 Gog and Magog 104, 106, 107
 Golden Fleece, Order of 135
Golden Legend 70
 Goldin, Simha 255
 Goldthwaite, Richard 197
 González-Ruibel, Alfredo 147, 165 n.53
 Gothic art 10, 28, 130, 131, 222
 Goths 41
 Gotland 24, 26
 Gow, Andrew Colin 106
 Grabar, Oleg 209
 Granada 7–8, 120–40; (Cathedral) 130; (Royal Chapel) 130
Grandes Chroniques de France 64
 grave-goods 25, 26
 Greece 99, 148
 Greek ministry of Culture 148
 Greenblatt, Stephen 92
 Gregory of Tours 18, 25; *History of the Franks* 18
 Gregory the Great, pope 48
 Gregory, Christopher A. 199
 griffins 95, 96, 97, 106, 209, 214 n.33
 Grimm, Edward 175
Guthlac A 60 n.68
 Gynosophes 102

 Habsburg Empire 8, 120, 125, 127
 Haftarat 245
 Hagia Sophia, Istanbul 149
 Hagiography 173, 177, 186–7
 Halakhah 255
 Hall, Stuart 241–2
 Hamas 109, 110, 111
 Harris, Anne F. 145
 Harris, Kate 127, 134
 Hatt, Michael 20, 23, 27
 Hauck, Karl 22, 23, 28
Heaven and Earth, exhibition 148
 Heavenfield, Northumberland 48
 HeChasid, Yehudah, rabbi 255–6
 Hedeager, Lotte 28
 Hedeman, Anne D. 64
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich 104
 Heidegger 6, 40–57
 Helena, empress 52
 hell 107; (gates of) 56–7
 Heng, Geraldine 92
 Hengest and Horsa 48, 52
 Henry I, king of England 175, 176, 181
 Henry II, king of England 174–88
 Henry III, king of England 185, 194 n. 73
 heraldry 135, 174, 182, 184, 186, 189 n.16, 195 n.81
 Hereford Map 104
 Herman of Lobdeburg, prince-bishop 253
 Hermann I, landgrave of Thuringia 253
 hermeneutics 155

- Hiatt, Alfred 102
 Hiberno-Saxon art 29
 Higgins, Iain Macleod 91, 92, 106
 historiography 155–9, 160
 hoards 17–18, 26
 Hodder, Ian 150
 Hoffman, Eva 196, 210
Holy Image, Hallowed Ground, exhibition
 148, 155, 160
 Holy Land 7, 52, 91, 103, 104, 106, 107
 Holy Sepulchre 106
 hooks, bell 169, 170, 183
 Hôpital St Jean, Angers 187
 Howe, Nicholas 41, 42
 Huffington Center, Los Angeles 148
 humanism 126, 131, 133
 Hungary 20
 Hurtado, Luis, governor of the Alhambra
 124, 131
 hybridity 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17, 18,
 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 40, 42, 48, 52,
 62–82, 111, 174, 187, 221, 223, 234, 235,
 241, 254, 255, 256
 Iberian peninsula 1, 2, 218–35
 Ibn Ezra, Abraham 233
 Ibn Gabirol, Solomon 233
 Ibn Hazam 230
 iconoclasm 147, 251, 256
 iconography 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 20, 22, 28,
 31, 37, 68, 70, 75, 129, 130, 136, 149,
 155, 159, 160, 174, 175, 176, 177–8, 181,
 182, 186, 222, 223, 231, 241–56
 icons 8–9, 146–60, 163 n.29
 Imer, Lisbeth 27
 imperialism 2, 3, 8
 India 99
 Ingham, Patricia Clare 2
 Inquisition 128, 129, 255
 Instagram 146
*Intersecting Worlds: The Byzantine/Tradi-
 tional Village* 148–9
 Ireland 4, 29; (Anglo-Norman) 1, 2
 Iron Age 5, 17–36
 Isabel I, queen of Castile 120, 128
 Isabel of Portugal 130
 Isabelline style 130
 Ishmaelites 232
 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 55
 Islam/Islamic (see also Saracens) 7–8, 10, 11,
 29, 109, 120–40, 218–35
 Islamic art 2, 10, 120–40, 196–212
 Ismail I, king of Granada 8, 123
 Israel 103, 109, 226
 Israelites 41, 48–9, 226, 227
 Italy 2, 10, 66, 131, 196–212, 223
 ivory 44, 55, 210
 J. Paul Getty Museum 145–6, 148, 155,
 156, 160
 J. Paul Getty Trust 146
 Jacob ben Samuel, scribe 245
 James I, king of Aragon 233
 Jameson, Frederic 157
 Jarrow, monastery 37
 Java 99
 Jeanne of Burgundy, queen of France 65, 69
 Jerome, saint 82 n.6
 Jerusalem 48, 50, 53, 57, 75, 99, 103, 104,
 106, 109
 jewellery 17–36
 Jews/Judaism 10, 11, 29, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53,
 54, 75, 102, 108, 126, 218–35, 241–56
 Joan of Arc 171
 Joan of England, queen of Scotland 180, 185
 Job 102
 John, king of England 175, 179, 180,
 185, 187
 John the Baptist 70, 72, 186
 Jonah and the whale 55, 103
 Joselit, David 152, 153, 166 n.58
 Joseph ben Kalonymos, scribe 250, 251
 Joseph ben Moses 11, 243, 245, 250, 251,
 253, 254, 256, 257 n.12
 Josephus 50
 Juana the Mad, queen of Castile 122
 Jude Thaddeus 75
 Judea 103
 Justinian, emperor 20, 25
 Jutes 41, 42, 47, 48, 52
 Kabbalists 230
 Kabir, Ananya Jahanara 3, 65
 Karkov, Catherine E. 3, 4
 Khorezmians 106
 Klein, Elka, 234
 Klein Group 157, 158
 Klonk, Charlotte 20, 23, 27
 Knowles, David 175
 Kogman-Appel, Katrin 222, 223
 Koran 102
 Korea 99
 Kosovo 109
 Kourelis, Kostis 149

- Krauss, Rosalind 157, 165–6 n.58, 166 n.69, 166 n.72
- Krummel Marianne Ara 92, 107
- Kupfer, Marcia 92, 93
- Lacan, Jacques 153, 165 n.58, 220
- language 5–7, 40–57, 171, 241–56;
 (Anglo-Norman French) 91; (Arabic) 75, 103, 109, 128, 229, 230, 233; (Aramaic) 243, 245; (Egyptian) 75; (Elamite) 75; (Franconian) 241–56; (Greek) 75, 78, 80; (Hebrew) 75, 78, 80, 226, 241–56; (Latin) 5, 6, 27, 40, 43, 47, 48, 52, 75, 78, 8, 106, 109, 112, 245, 250; (Middle English) 64, 80, 91–112; (Middle French) 6, 62–82, 100; (Middle High German) 241–56; (Old English) 6, 37, 40, 41, 43, 47, 48, 52, 54, 56; (Old High German) 22, 54; (Old Norse) 27, 29; (Pamphylion) 75; (Persian) 75; (Phrygian) 75; (vernacular) 5, 27, 241–56
- Languedoc 230
- Larling, Norfolk 49
- Last Judgement (see also Apocalypse) 250, 251, 252
- Late Antiquity 6, 28, 156
- Le Mans Cathedral 175
- Lent 68, 69, 70, 78
- Levanthal, Richard 150
- Levi-Strauss, Claude 157
- Lewis, Suzanne 95, 98, 106
- Libya 99
- liminality 6, 7, 10, 28, 29, 40, 55, 57, 78, 122, 187, 196, 198, 221, 223
- Lindeberg, Marta 26
- Lipton, Sara 93
- Lison, siege of 158
- liturgy 10–11, 62–82, 219–35, 243
- Lochrie, Karma 92, 102, 107
- Logan, Donald F. 111–12
- London 103
- Louis VII, king of France 174, 182, 184, 187, 193 n.61
- Louis VIII, king of France 179, 185, 190 n.20
- Lowenthal, David 150, 158
- Luke, saint (see also Bible) 71, 75
- Lusignan, Serge 64
- Machuca family 131
- Machuca, Pedro, architect 124, 131, 132, 135
- Maghreb 207
- Magnentius, emperor 18
- Maine 175, 176, 180, 181, 183, 184, 186, 187
- Majorca 204
- Malcolm IV, king of Scotland 176
- Malkiel, David 255
- Mallorca 223, 230
- Malmer, Mats 20, 22
- Malta 222
- Mandeville John (see also *Book of Sir John Mandeville*) 91
- Mannyn, Robert 64
- manuscript illumination 2, 6, 7, 10, 11, 28, 62–82, 91–112; (Hebrew) 2, 10, 11, 218–35, 241–56
- manuscripts Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 26 (Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*) 103, 104, 112; Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Codice MS, CXXXVII (Psalter of St Elizabeth of Hungary) 254; London, BL, Add. MS 14761 (Barcelona Haggadah) 222; London, BL, Add. MS 27210 (Golden Haggadah) 232; London, BL, Add. MS 28681 (Psalter Map) 7, 91, 104–6, 109, 112; London, BL, Cotton Titus C.xvi (*Book of Sir John Mandeville*) 100, 101, 110; London, BL, Egerton 1982 (*Book of Sir John Mandeville*) 92, 99, 100–1, 110; London, BL, Harley 3954 (*Book of Sir John Mandeville*, ‘Defective’ version) 92, 95–110; London, BL, MS Or 1404 (Brother Haggadah) 227–8; Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum MS Ludwig III.i (Dyson Perrins Apocalypse) 96, 98; Manchester, John Rylands Library, Hebrew MS 6 (Rylands Haggadah) 10, 218–35; Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana B 30–2 Inf (Hebrew Bible) 11, 245–56; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3900 254; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Hebr. 5/I and II (biblical commentary) 11, 244–56; München, Universitätsbibliothek der LMU, Cim.15 (Hiltigerus Psalter) 250, 251, 252, 254; New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 425 (Yale Missal) 6–7, 62–82; New York, Theological Seminary, MS misc. 9478 (Prato Haggadah) 229; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 10841 (*Martinellus*) 68; Sarajevo, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina b–H.

- zem. muz. 9313 (olim 9034) (Sarajevo Haggadah) 219, 222, 225, 230, 231, 232, 234; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MS HB II 24 (Landgrafen Psalter) 254; Wrocław, University Library, MS. M 1106 (Hebrew Bible) 251; Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.8 (Dominican Bible) 253, 254
 maps/mapmaking 3, 7, 91–112; (mappamundi) 99, 100, 104, 112
 Marcus, Ivan g. 255
 marginalia 219, 221–5, 226, 234, 251
 Marliano, Luigi 133
 Martilla 70, 73
 Martin, Max 25
 Mary Magdalene 73, 74
 Masorah 243, 245, 250
 Master of the Yale Missal 62, 68, 70, 75
 Material Collective 4, 146, 149
 materiality 37–61, 149, 151, 164 n.45, 166 n.73
 Matilda, queen of England 176
 Matilda of Canossa, countess (*vita*) 209
 Matthew, saint (see also Bible) 70, 75
 Matthew Paris 7, 91–112; (*Chronica Majora*) ix, 103, 104, 107, 112
 Mattingly, David J. 25
 Maundy Thursday 78, 79
mawlid 123
 McGuire, Ranall 151–2
 medallions 5, 17–36
 Mediterranean Sea 199–212, 223
 Mehrez, Samia 62, 66, 78, 80
 Meir ben Baruch of Rothenberg, rabbi 255
 Melamid, Abraham 232
 Mélinais Abbey 179
 memory studies 170
 Mendoza family 128, 130, 131, 132
 Mendoza y Quiñones, Don Iñigo Lopez de 128, 130, 135
 Menil Collection 149, 157, 160
 Menocal, María Rosa 129
 Menorah 245
 merchants 196–212, 222, 223, 224
 Metropolitan Museum of Art 145–6, 147, 148, 154–5, 156
 Meyerson, Mark 127
 Michelet, Jules 95
 micrography 219, 236 n.9, 244, 250
 migration (see also diaspora, exile) 41, 42
 Migration Period 17–36
 Mikosch, Gunnar 256
 Millet, Martin 27
 mimicry 4, 5, 7, 11, 27, 29, 184, 187, 242–3, 253, 254, 256
 Missals 62–82
 Missorium of Theodosius 25
 Mitchell, W.J.T. 151
 Mittman, Asa Simon 3
mixta 242–56
 monsters/monstrosity 3, 91, 95, 104, 106, 220
 Montebello, Philippe de 155, 161 n.15
 Montelius, Oscar 20
 Montpelier 230
 Moreville, Hugh de 178, 181, 190 n. 29, 193 n.58, 193 n.59
 Moreville, Richard de 177, 190 n.29
 Moriscos 8, 120, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 133
 morning gifts 26
 Morocco 202, 211
 mosaics 25
 Moseley, C.W.R.D. 92, 93, 99
 Moses 75, 80, 219, 226, 228, 248, 250, 251
 Mount Moriah 51
mudejar 223, 229
 multilingualism 6, 7, 40–57, 62–82
 Muhammad V, king of Granada 8, 123, 139
 Münzer, Hieronymus 123
 mythology 22–3, 29, 37–57, 157

 Nader, Helen 128, 131
 Nagel, Alexander 156
 naming 7, 53, 61 n.71, 103, 104
 Nasrid Dynasty 7–8, 120, 137, 139, 140
 National Gallery of Art, Washington DC 148
 nationalism 146, 224
 Nativity (of Christ) 52; (of John the Baptist) 70, 72
 Navarre 229
 Nelson, Robert S. 147, 148
 neoliberalism 9, 146
 Nineveh 103
 Nithhad, king 43, 45, 46, 59 n.30
 Nora, Pierre 170
 Normandy/Normans 3, 9, 169–88
 North Sea 29, 41
 Northumbria 37–57, 176
 Norway 18, 26, 28
 Nunburnholme Cross 4

 object oriented ontology 54, 166 n.73
 Occitania 230

- Odin 22, 23, 28
 Oresme, Nicholas 64
 Orientalism 2, 4, 75, 78, 101, 102, 103, 199
 Ottoman Empire 129
 Overbey, Karen Eileen 3–4, 30, 111, 145, 178
 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 55

 pagans/paganism (see polytheism)
 Palastine 103, 106, 109
 Palatine Hill, Rome 52
 Palm Sunday 68, 73, 75
 Palmyra 25
 Panofsky, Erwin 68, 149
 Paradise 99
 Passover 73, 75, 218–35
 patronage 4, 9, 10, 11, 78, 169–88, 196, 197, 207, 208, 210, 218, 219, 225, 227, 232, 242–56
 Paul, saint 75, 77, 109
 Peers, Glenn 157
 pendants (see bracteates, medallions)
 Pentcheva, Bissera 149
 Pentecost 75, 76
 performance theory 149
 periodisation 2–3
 Perry, Mary Elizabeth 127
 Persia 99
 Pharisees 73
 phenomenology 149
 Philip Augustus, king of France 175, 179, 180, 185, 186, 187
 Philip V, king of Spain 123
 Philip VI, king of France 65
Physiologus 55
Pilar de Carlos V 135
 pilgrimage 175, 177, 178, 185, 191 n.39
 Pillars of Hercules 120, 133, 134, 135, 139
 Pincus, Deborah 208
 Pinterest 146
 piracy 205, 210
 Pisa 10, 196–212; (Cathedral) 207, 214 n.33; (Griffin) 209, 214 n.33; (Museo Nazionale di San Matteo) 211; (San Matteo) 211; (San Piero a Grado) 200, 201, 204, 211; (San Sisto) 201, 202, 205, 206, 212, 214 n.33; (San Stefano) 211; (San Zeno) 203, 206, 211; (Santa Maria Assunta) 212
 Plantagenets 9, 174–88
 plunder 196, 205
 Poitou 175
 Pollock, Sheldon 123
 polytheism 23, 27–9, 30, 37–57
 pope/papacy 99, 100, 101, 112
 postcolonial theory 1–12, 17, 27–31, 40–61, 62, 65, 78, 111, 120, 122, 169–74, 178, 180–88, 221, 223, 234–5, 242
 post-human 102, 116 n.73
 postmodernism 144–5
 post-processualism 157
 Powell, Amy Knight 156, 157
 Power, Daniel 174, 181, 185, 186
 Pratt, Mary Louise 123
 Prayerbooks 253, 257
 Prester John 94, 99, 101
 Promised Land 7, 41, 49, 103, 106, 109, 226
 Prussia 99
 Przybilski, Martin 255
 Psalters 250, 251–3, 254
 Pygmalion 55

 Qatar 146

 Rabbenu Tam 255
 Rambelli, Fabio 147
 Rashi 243, 245
 Rausing, Gad 25
Reconquista 8, 11, 120–40, 230, 233
 Red Sea 41, 227
 Reformation 129, 130, 134, 147, 177
 Reinders, Eric 147
 Reiner, Rami 255
 relics/reliquaries 4, 37, 44, 61 n.74, 149–50, 175, 178, 179, 186
 Renaissance 147
 repatriation of artworks 145, 146, 150
 resistant site 9, 169–88
 Revell, Louise 25
 Richard I, king of England 177, 179
 riddles 43, 44, 53, 55, 57
 Ripon, monastery 37
 Roman Empire 3, 5, 17–36, 40–61, 66, 80, 131
 Rome 3, 5, 6, 7, 40, 42, 49, 70, 99, 131
 Romulus and Remus 48, 49, 50, 52, 55
 Rosaldo, Renato 144
 Rosenthal, Earl 131, 134
 Rofolo family, Amalfi 207
 runes 5, 6, 17, 27, 40, 43, 47, 48, 52, 53, 61 n.71
 Ruthwell Cross 48, 53, 61 n.71

 Sabines, rape of 49
 Said, Edward 101, 102, 103, 199

- Salin, Bernhard 20
 Sámi 30
 San Vitale, Ravenna 25
 Saramago, Jose 158
 Sardinia 222, 223
 Saracens 78, 102, 109, 230
 Saxons 41, 42, 50, 52
 Scandinavia 5, 17–36, 47, 57
 Scone Castle 186
 Scotland 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 185, 186
 Scott, Sarah 30
 script/scribes (see also *mixta*) 11, 66, 73,
 75, 78, 241–56; (Arabic) 128, 129, 202;
 (Bastarda) 66; (Caroline majuscule) 68;
 (Caroline minuscule) 68; (Cursiva) 66;
 (decorated initials) 68, 69, 251; (gothic
 book hand) 68; (historiated initials) 69,
 70, 254; (knotted-Kufic) 136, 137; (Littera
 Textualis Formata) 66, 68; (pseudo-Kufic)
 136; (Trajanic majuscule) 70; (uncial) 68
 second Merseberg charm 22
 Second Vatican Council 65
 Seder 10, 218–35
 Sefer Hasidem 255–6
 semiotics 149, 152, 155
 Sen, Amartya 153
 Sens Cathedral 174, 175, 178, 190 n.20,
 193, n.61
 Seville 127
 Shalem, Avinoam 210
 shamanism 30
 sheela-na-gigs 1, 2, 13 n.29
 shrines (see relics/reliquaries)
 Sicily 200, 206, 208, 211, 222
 Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery 148,
 155, 159
 slavery 219, 227, 232
 Slavs 29
 Soifer, May 126
 Solomon, throne of 44; temple of (see also
 Temple Mount) 48, 49, 106
 Solomon ben Samuel, scribe 243, 245, 257
 n.12
 Spain 7, 10, 29, 120–40, 206, 211
 speculative realism 156
 spindle whorls 26
 Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty 92, 103, 159,
 218, 219, 224
 St Albans 91, 95, 103
 stained glass 9, 169–88
 Stirling Castle 177
 structuralism 154, 166 n.72
 Style I animal art 20, 30
 Svanberg, Frederik 20, 23, 30
 Sweden 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 31
 Syria 99
 Tafuri, Manfredo 131, 132
 Talavera, Hernando de, archbishop
 of Granada 128
 Talmud 243
 Targum 243
 Tarshish 99
 Tartars 99, 230
 Templars 106
 Temple Mount (see also Solomon, temple of)
 48, 49, 51, 52, 106, 109
 terrorism 150, 151, 164 n.42
 textiles 210
 thing/*ding* 41, 53–7
 thing theory 54, 166 n.73
 third space 40, 48, 49, 52, 53, 57
 Thomas Tuesdays 178
 Thomsen, Christian Jürgensen 20
 Thuringian dynasty 253
 Tiberius II, emperor 18, 25
 Tilley, Christopher 146, 152
 Titus, emperor 48, 50, 53, 54; Arch of 50;
 sack of the temple 48, 49–50, 10 n.58
 Tomasch, Sylvia 102, 109
 Torah 226, 230, 244
 torques 25
 Tosny, Marguerite de 186, 195 n. 78
 Tosny, Richard 186
 Tosny, Roger 186
 Toulouse 175
 Touraine 175
 Tours 62, 68
 Tracy, William de 181, 193 n.57
 trade 196–212, 223, 224, 234
 translation 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 40, 43, 47, 53, 54,
 57, 62–82, 120, 129, 153, 243, 245
 Trastámara dynasty 128
 Tumblr 146, 157
 Tunisia 202, 206, 211
 Tuscany 196–212
 Twitter 151, 157, 160
 typology 5, 11, 20, 22, 28, 31, 44, 49, 53,
 159, 160
 UNESCO 146
 University of California, Los Angeles 148
 usury 205
 utopia 107, 109, 112 113 n.15

Valencia 229, 233
 Valens, emperor, 18
 Valentinian, emperor 18, 20
 Valkyries 45
 Vandals 41
 Venice 197, 205, 207, 223, 224; (San Marco) 207
 Verdun 171
 Viking Age 17–36, 42
 Villard de Honnecourt 78
 Vincent, Nicholas 181, 183
 Virgin Mary 43, 44, 70, 73, 78, 254
 vocaliser 245, 250
Völundarkviða 45

 Waldere 46
 Wales 29, 184
 Warren, Michelle R. 2
 Weber, Samuel 242
 Webster, Jane 23, 29, 30
 Weitzmann, Kurt 147
 Weland the Smith 42, 43–7, 49, 52, 53, 54, 59 n.30, 60 n.38

West Indies 134
Whale, The 54–5, 56–7
 whales/whalebone 6, 37–57
 Whitby's monastery 37
 Widia 43, 46, 52
Widsith 46, 53
 William the Lion, king of Scotland 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 185, 186, 191 n.32, 191 n.35, 193 n.55
 Williams, Deanne 3, 65
 Wood, Christopher 70
 Wood, Denis 109
 Woolf, Greg 20
 Würzburg 243, 245, 251, 253, 257 n.12

 You Tube 146
 Yuval, Israel Jacob 255
 Young, Robert 122, 139

 Zackenstil 253
 Zechariah 70
 Zionism 103